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Dr. RYERSON'S LETTERS

IN REPLY TO THE ATTACKS OF

THE HON. GEORGE BROWN, M. P. P.

"EDITOR IN CHIEF AND PROPRIETOR" OF THE "GLOBE."

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX.

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DR. RYERSON'S LETTERS

IN

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OF THE

HON. GEORGE BROWN, M.P.P.

"Editor-in-Chief" and Proprietor of the 'Globe.'

EDITED WITH

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TORONTO:

LOVELL AND GIBSON, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS;

AND

W. C. F. CAVERHILL, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER, YONGE STREET.

1859.

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TORONTO:

LOVELL AND GIBSON, PRINTERS, YONGE STREET.

Prefatory Address to the People of Upper Canada.

To you, my Fellow Christians and Fellow Countrymen of every origin, faith and party in Upper Canada, I dedicate the following Letters in defence of our School System and myself, against the most insidious conspiracy and formidable attacks which have ever been witnessed :—

OUR SYSTEM of Public Schools is not the decree of a despot enforced upon you, but the expression of your own mind and will, the development of your own parental and patriotic feelings, the creation of your own enterprise and intelligence. My connexion with it now dates back fourteen years: and it has been my aim, as it was my duty, to collect and lay before you the best information in my power; to devise, as far as I could, and submit to you the best system the circumstances of the country would allow, and the best means for its operations and extension; to dictate to you in nothing, but to aid you in every way possible, in educating your children and in providing them and yourselves with books of useful and entertaining knowledge. You are yourselves witnesses, from your own consciousness and experience, that in our system of public instruction parental right and supremacy are held sacred, and Municipal rights and powers are fully recognized and secured; that the working of that system is not only an agency of universal education, in which the poor man has equal rights and privileges with the rich man, but a school of local self-government, and therefore of civil and religious liberty. The results of the system also show that school books of all kinds have been greatly reduced in price and greatly improved in quality; that maps and apparatus of all kinds, and libraries of ample variety, are rendered accessible to all parts of the country, and cheaper than in any other country in the world; that school architecture and accommodation have improved in corresponding ratio, as have the general methods of school instruction and management; that since 1846, the number of pupils in the Common Schools has advanced from 101,912 to 272,637, and the salaries of teachers from £67,906 to £215,657; that the grand total of means provided for Common School purposes were in 1850, (there being no returns previous to that date,) £102,619, while they amounted in 1857 to £303,039.

During my Superintendency of the School System there have been before 1858 no less than five Administrations of Government, embracing the leading men of different political parties. I have maintained an equally friendly relation to them all; and no one of them ever attempted to render the School System subservient to political party purposes.

But in July last, contrary to all precedent in this or in any other country, the

School System of Upper Canada, without any agitation except by the *Globe* newspaper, and that for party purposes, and in the face of the most marvelous and yearly increasing success, was made the subject of secret party negotiations; and negotiations, not even with another party in Upper Canada, but with another party in Lower Canada,—thus recognizing the right, out of Upper Canada, to control in its own local school affairs, and involving a change in the relations of one large religious community to our School System, as also a change in its whole internal regulations and character. The system in Ireland was to be the standard to which ours was to be conformed. Having myself visited Ireland in the Autumn of 1857, inquired into the changes which had taken place in its character and operations, and procured official documents illustrative of those changes, I felt it my duty to lay the information thus acquired before the public, especially in my Annual Report, that the Municipal and other Local School authorities, as well as Members of the Legislature, could examine and judge for themselves. I simply embodied the facts in my Report, with a comparison of the Irish and Canadian systems; but for doing so, I have been made the object of fierce and deadly attacks, while my replies to those attacks have been excluded from the columns of the *Globe*, by the Editor of which the attacks had been made.

Under these circumstances I have been compelled to seek other more just and liberal channels of communication with the public in my own defence (*Colonist* and *Leader*); and it is with the same view I avail myself of the enterprise of a liberal Publisher to present them to the public in this form, that they may be made more extensively accessible to those readers who have only as yet perused the false and poisonous attacks and representations of the "Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor" of the *Globe* newspaper. I feel it a duty to myself and to the country at large to avail myself of every possible means to give correct information as to the nature and grounds of School legislation for Upper Canada during the last twelve years, and to vindicate successive Administrations and Parliaments, as well as myself, from the assertions and misrepresentations of the Hon. George Brown and his *Globe* newspaper. The position that Mr. Brown has acquired in the country, and the use he has made of that position to assail me and undermine the whole fabric of our public school system, under the pretext of abolishing certain provisions of the law which have never endangered or impeded its progress, but which have operated indirectly to its consolidation and extension, is my apology for replying to his attacks and statements in so formal a manner.

I trust the perusal of the following letters will satisfy every candid reader of the injustice of Mr. Brown's attacks upon myself personally, and upon various public men who have had to do with our school legislation; of the briois tendency of his "political alliance" to weaken and subvert our school System; and of the wisdom of pursuing the course adopted the last few years in order to advance the best interests of Education and knowledge in Upper Canada.

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, February, 1859.

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SOME SPECIAL TOPICS FOR REFERENCE IN THESE LETTERS.

Mr. Brown attacked Dr. Ryerson's whole public life, and he therefore introduced every variety of topic. Apart, then, from the questions of the School law and School system, and the personal charges discussed, there are several topics embraced in the discussion relating to Mr. Brown in the following pages, to which reference may be made, as the public are deeply interested in them.

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DR. RYERSON'S LETTERS

IN REPLY TO

THE ATTACKS OF MR. BROWN;

His preliminary reply to the first attacks of the
"Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor" of the *Globe*—
Mr. McGee's recantation and Political Confession
of faith.

1. Mr. Brown's attack on Dr. Ryerson—Charge of having "Political Allies in the Government."

To the Editor of the *GLOBE*.

SIR,—In the *Globe* of the day before yesterday, you gave a courteous and comprehensive summary of the statistics of my School Report for 1857, while, in referring to Separate Schools, you make certain statements and charges against myself, to which I deem it my duty to reply, as also to certain attacks you have heretofore made upon me, and to those contained in the lengthened editorial of this day's *Globe*.

The passage in the first article to which I refer, I quote at length, as follows:—

"Dr. Ryerson, with an evident anxious desire to defend the system patronized by his political allies in the Government, makes the following remark, in introducing the subject:— 'It will be seen that the establishment of most of these schools is of recent date. Since the vehement agitation of the question, the greater part of those established in former years have been discontinued.' There is an insinuation here that the establishment of these schools has arisen from the vehement agitation of the question. No one knows better than Dr. Ryerson that, to use a homely phrase, he is putting the cart before the horse; that the agitation of the subject was the result, not the cause, of the increase of the schools; that the introduction of the separate clause in the act of 1850, and the stimulus that was given to the sectarian system by the efforts of Bishop Charbonnel, were the causes of that agitation, the beneficial results of which Dr. Ryerson is doing his very best to destroy. It is very true, as Dr. Ryerson says, that the establishment of most of these schools is of recent date, but there is a deliberate misstatement in the latter part of the sentence. It is not true that the greater part of the schools established in former years have been discontinued. Of the twenty-two schools in operation in 1852, we find no less than seventeen are still

in existence. But supposing that Dr. Ryerson's statement had been true instead of false, it would have proved true nothing against the agitation of the question."

2. Historical references in refutation of Mr. Brown's mis-statement in regard to the Act of 1850.

1. You speak of "the introduction of the Separate School clause in the act of 1850," as if that clause were a novelty and an innovation, whereas you know it formed a part of the school law from 1841 to 1850. You know that, with the approbation of the Government of the Hon. Mr. Baldwin, I did not act upon the school act of 1849, which only came into force in January 1850, and was repealed a few months afterwards by the act of 1850. You know that the special separate school provisions of the law were part of the act of 1843, introduced by the Hon Mr. Hincks as a member of Mr. Baldwin's Government; that the separate school clause of the act of 1850 was examined and approved by Mr. Baldwin, (whose marginal notes and corrections on the original draft of the Bill, I still have in my possession) and was introduced by Mr. Hincks, and that you supported them then, and for a year afterwards, as you had done for years before; that you made no opposition to the "separate school clauses" of the law from 1841 to 1851; that I do now on this subject precisely what I advocated at length in my Annual School Report for 1852, namely—maintain the justice and wisdom of keeping faith with a section of the community according to the compromise agreed upon by Messrs. Baldwin and Hincks' Government in 1843, and which has been maintained inviolate by each succeeding Government ever since. I hold no other language, or view, or policy now, that I have not maintained in past years

when the *Globe* highly eulogized and energetically sustained me.

2. You speak of the efforts of Bishop Charbonnel as one cause of the agitation on the subject of Separate Schools. In that I quite agree, as I have shown at length in my special report on Separate Schools (pp. 13—18,) laid before the Legislature during its last session.

3. But you assert that "the agitation of the subject was the result, not the cause of the increase of Separate Schools." Now, the agitation of this subject was commenced in 1852; but in 1852 there were but 18 Separate Roman Catholic Schools open, whereas in 1850 there were 20. The number of Separate Schools was therefore decreasing until after the commencement of the agitation—a fact the reverse of your statement. That "the introduction of the separate school clause into the Act of 1850" could not have contributed to the increase of separate schools, is clear from the fact, that for two years after the passing of that act the number of separate schools decreased instead of being increased.

3. Mr. Brown's charge of "falsehood" refuted. His characteristic mis-statements of facts.

4. Then, Sir, you charge as a "falsehood" my reference to the statistical table, "that the greater part of the separate schools established in former years had been discontinued." The isolated sentence of my report which you have quoted, contains in itself the proof that I did not wish to mislead, as it is a reference to a statistical table, which would enable the reader to judge for himself, and to correct the reference if it was not justified by the statistics. But the facts that there were but 18 separate Roman Catholic schools open in 1852, that five were closed in 1855, and seven in 1857, will show how far I was wrong in the impression under which I referred to the statistical table of my Report.

5. In another part of your editorial you say: "In 1852, there were only 21 Roman Catholic schools in Upper Canada. The number has gone on increasing yearly in an enormous ratio." This assertion, with corresponding omissions, partakes of the extravagance and injustice of your wholesale statements and attacks. If the separate school clause in the Act of 1850, had caused the increase of separate schools, why did you not commence the date of the increase of separate schools from 1850, instead of from 1852? But the increase of separate schools has not been *annual*, nor is its ratio enormous. During the first two years after the passing of the Act of 1850, the "increase" of separate schools open

was a *decrease* of two. Then, in 1852, the agitation commenced, and the increase in 1853 was 14—from 18 to 32; in 1854 they increased to 44; then there was a lull in the agitation, and in 1855 they declined from 44 to 41; then the agitation was renewed with unwonted violence. I was absent in Europe, and the *Globe* and the newspaper representatives of Bishop Charbonnel had the field all to themselves—and the separate schools in 1856 increased from 41 to 81; then the strength of the agitation being pretty much exhausted, the increase in separate schools in 1857 was from 81 to 100—of which seven were closed—being an actual increase of only twelve. But suppose the separate schools were even 400 instead of 100, that would not be one for every township in Upper Canada, apart from the cities, towns, and villages; and has a separate school in a township, city, town or village, destroyed or endangered, or even weakened the operations of the public school system, much less impeded its progress? But, Sir, while you have represented the increase of separate schools as annual and enormous, you omit to state that there has been any increase whatever in the public schools; nay, your statement conveys the impression that all the increase has been in the number of separate schools. Now, Sir, if you had been as anxious to impress your readers with one class of facts as with the other, you would have informed them that, while the increase of separate schools from 1852 to 1857 inclusive, was from 18 to 100, the increase of public schools during the same period was from 3010 to 3781; that while the nominal increase of separate schools in 1857 was 19, (actually 12) the actual increase of the public schools was 250. These facts will impart joy to the hearts of the hundreds of thousands of the friends of public education in Upper Canada, as they illustrate the amazing power and success of the school system as now established, however mortifying they may be to you in your present gratuitous assault upon me.

4. Mr. Brown's feeble and superficial effort to show an antagonism in Dr. E.'s reports exposed.

6. In your article of more than two columns in to-day's *Globe*, you assert that "The report which he (Dr. Ryerson) has just put forth to the world, contains statements utterly antagonistic to all documents he issued from 1851 to 1854, when the separate schools controversy was raging. Then his whole argument was directed to show that separate schools were unnecessary and mischievous; that they were not desired by the laity, but only by the clergy; that Protestant and Catholic could be

educated on the same bench, and without any injury to the faith of either."

Now, Sir, in my recent report, I have also shown that there is no need of separate schools, either for purposes of religious, or for secular instruction; and I have pointed out, for the consideration of the supporters of separate schools, the advantages to which they subject their children. But the point of your assertion is, that I advocated the abolition of the separate school provisions of the law from 1851 to 1854, and that I now advocate their continuance; and you quote passages from my reports for 1851 and 1854, to give a color of probability to your statement. Now, if the reader turns to my reports for 1851 and 1854, he will see that in those reports I did not discuss or refer at all to the separate school clauses of the law, but simply to the "Question of Religious Instruction in Schools;" in discussing which, I showed that the denominational schools were not necessary for that purpose, but that all instruction desired could be given in connexion with our non-denominational schools—the very views I have maintained in my recent Report. But I will ask you with what sort of face can you assert, that from "1851 to 1854," every document I put forth was against the separate school clauses of the law, when, in my report for 1852, I devoted nearly five pages in answer to "Objections of certain opposers of the Separate School clauses of the law," in which I argued at great length, in justification of continuing those clauses; after which I devoted nearly three pages in answer to "Objections of certain advocates of Separate Schools," showing the unreasonableness of their complaints against the equity of the separate school provisions of the law, and of their demands for further modifications. Then, Sir, in 1853, I prepared the draft of the Supplementary School Act, the fourth section of which relates to separate schools, and which was prepared to satisfy the professed wishes, and silence the clamor of the advocates of separate schools—a clause respecting which I consulted with friends of public education during an official tour to each county of Upper Canada. Thus, during the two years that intervened between 1851 and 1854, I did more to maintain the separate school clauses of the law, than I have done during any other two years of my life—so entirely the reverse of truth are your bold and unqualified assertions, and your reasonings of more than two columns founded upon them.

Sir, I have as large an interest of character and enjoyment and solicitude for

my native country, as you or any other man, in the integrity, extension, and perpetuity of our national school system; and I firmly believe, from observations at home, and from analogies and facts in other countries, that the integrity and efficiency, and even continuance of our public school system, depend upon the course I pursue, and have invariably pursued, from the beginning, in regard to the separate school clauses of the law. The day after the last discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of the separate school clauses of the law, I met two prominent members of your own side of the House, who told me they believed, from the tone of the discussion and the vote at the close of it, that the question was settled for years; nor do I believe it would now be a topic of discussion, had you not made it a matter of party negotiation in July last, in order to secure a "political ally."

6. Mr. Brown's charge of "Political Allies" a mere pretext.—His anxiety to make the Upper Canada School System a political question.

7.—I now address myself to the more general subject of the charge involved in your first article, in which you speak of my "evident desire to defend the system patronized by my political allies in the Government." The object of this imputation cannot be mistaken. It is one of your pretexts for crushing me and subverting the School System. If the present Government patronizes the School System, it does what all the Municipalities of Upper Canada have done; it does what the people at large, without distinction of party, have done, with unprecedented unanimity and energy, and with unrivalled success; it does what the *Globe* charged the Government of the day, from 1852 to 1857, with being the "Political Allies" of Bishop Charbonnel and the Priests of Lower Canada, and their "minions" and "slaves," in order to subvert and destroy. If the present Government "patronizes" the School System of Upper Canada so as to maintain it inviolate, it will do what I have sought with success to induce every Government to do during the last twelve years; it does what I believe to be due to the municipal and individual rights, the best liberties and interests of the people of Upper Canada. But that I have "Political Allies" in any party, or that I have in any way sought to identify our great School System with political party, you, sir, know to be untrue from the fact that in regard to every measure I have, since 1850, submitted to the Government and Legislature, I have, by the permission of the Administration of the day, as fully consulted with

the leading Members of the Opposition as with the Members and supporters of the Government, so that no party could make political capital out of the School System, and that all parties should equally participate in the credit and satisfaction of its success. The only shadow of pretext you have ever had is a note I wrote to a near relative at Whitby, and which was published on the eve of the late General Election—a note, the date of which shows that it was written before Mr. Mowat was known as a candidate, and the contents of which show that it would have been neither manly nor Christian in me to have refused the explanation given in regard to the conduct of a gentleman who had acted as my colleague and efficient helper in the work of Education for eleven years, but who had been represented as adverse to me and to the System of Education I was endeavoring to maintain. I submit to you, sir, in your retired and thoughtful moments, whether such conduct on my part was not more to be honored than condemned, and more satisfactory to contemplate, than that which you have pursued in regard to the same gentleman in view of all the relations that he has sustained to you. But as nothing could be found in my published note which could be objected to, the *Globe* charged me with writing one of a political party character to some person in Pickering—a charge without a shadow or particle of truth.

6. Mr. Brown's present "Political Allies," the old enemies of the School System.—Silencing Dr. Byerson, the first part of his Contract.

8.—But, Sir, you know that the very parties whose aggressions upon our School System I have struggled to resist in past years were the avowed supporters of the Government of the day, and whose "tools" you represented the Government to be, and who, I have reason to know, besieged and threatened the Government not a little, for not forbidding me to resist their pretensions, and for not compelling me into submission to their demands. These parties having failed of success in that quarter, have, it appears, at length proposed to become "Political Allies" of yours, in order to accomplish their objects against me and the School System of Upper Canada. Your attacks upon me and demands for my silence are doubtless the first instalment of the contract with your new "political ally," and the introduction of certain parts of the Irish National School System altogether. Hence your attacks upon me some time ago for even venturing, at the University *déjeuner*, to contrast a single feature of our School System with that in Ireland, and hence your proposal,

while professing on the one hand opposition to Separate Schools, to borrow, on the other hand, from the Irish National School System, in the operations of which there are only 48 Schools under the joint management of Protestants and Roman Catholics, and upwards of 5,000 Schools under individual denominational management, and where the municipal and elective rights of the people in School matters are unknown.

7. Second part of the Contract, to make the School System of Upper Canada a party question.

You, Sir, are the first public man in Upper Canada who has made our School System a party question, and a subject of party negotiation, and who has assailed me for advocating at any time, and on any occasion, that School System which has, down to last July, grown up under the auspices of the leading men of all parties. You cannot but know from the examination of my report, that I have adopted the only three features of the Irish School System which are of a non-denominational and national character, and have rejected only those which are denominational, or which ignore the municipal and civil liberties of the people, and that you can introduce no other feature of the Irish System without, on the one hand abridging the liberties of the people, and on the other hand, giving "more power to the Pope."

8. Mr. Brown's Charge against the Government of 1855 insincere, and only applicable to himself.

9.—It is also worthy of remark, that in 1855, and since you denounced the Government of the day for deciding upon an Upper Canada School measure, or suffering it to be brought before Parliament, without consulting the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada; yet, you have not only decided to modify the whole School system of Upper Canada without consulting him; but you boast again and again in your paper that he knows nothing of your proposed changes in that very system which it has been the chief labor of his life to establish and develop.

9. Hostility on the part of ultras of both sides.—Mr. Brown's alliance with the worst of them.

10.—You know, Sir, as well as I do, as is evinced in my reports, that I no more desire the extension of Separate Schools than you profess to do; and facts show that the Separate School clause of the Act of 1850 has in no way caused the little extension they have had during the last seven years. But I have a duty to discharge to my Roman Catholic, as well as Protestant, fellow subjects; and I will endeavor, as I have always done, to act as faithfully in regard

to one as to the other, and to do to each as I would be done by. I know that in pursuing this course I have given satisfaction to the great body both of Roman Catholics and Protestants; but there is a small section of each party whose hostility I cannot expect to escape hereafter, any more than I have been able to avoid it heretofore; and it is to me the strangest phenomenon which has appeared in our political horizon, that you and one of these parties should become "political allies." These two classes of persons in the Roman Catholic Church are so clearly defined by the *London Times* of the 14th ult., that I here quote it at length, as containing information which will be interesting and instructive to the whole Canadian public.

10. Difference between a Papist and a Roman Catholic distinctly marked.*

The *Times* says: "The difference between a Papist and Roman Catholic is one well known in their Church, but little understood outside of it: The Papist is a man who can have no real patriotism, and no feeling of civil liberty—he is first and above all things the subject of the Pope. The Roman Catholic is a man who holds—we of the reformed faith think erroneously holds—a common faith with men to whom we owe all the foundations of our liberties. The former is noisy and aggressive, the latter is silent and a lover of peace. The Papists are so rare in England that, if we except the converts, we could number all the gentry of that persuasion upon our fingers. They are not numerous in France, either among the Clergy or Laity, and even in Spain, Austria, and Italy they are remarkable rather for their zeal than their numbers. They occupy the public attention by writing in such papers as the *Univers*, and by aggressive acts such as the ecclesiastical partition of England, and the kidnapping of the Jew boy Mortara; and they exercise an influence over the most ignorant of the peasantry by coarse jugglery and clumsy modern miracles. The Roman Catholics as distinguished from the Papists, retain the same temper which they, in our own country, showed in every year of our history before the Reformation, by a constant unrelaxing opposition to the pretensions of all foreign Priests. When Cardinal Wiseman querulously deplores the lukewarmness of English Catholics, this is what he means; when he exults in the fervor of Irish faith, he is deceived into mistaking for devotion to Rome, a zeal which is only prompted by hostility to England. This reasoning body of Roman Catholics forms the opposition to absolute governments in Roman Catholic countries, and therefore seldom ventures to make its voice heard except as the whisper of a widespread multitude. They are in force and in power in Sardinia, and sometimes in Spain and Portugal; but

they are kept down by the strong arm in Austria and Italy, and they are naturally feared in France. The Papist, the peasantry, and the despot are the necessary conditions of despotism in Europe; if the first and the last are not united, and if the second cannot be deluded, no absolute throne can stand."

11. Friendship with Roman Catholics; but disturbance and aggression from Papists.—Mr. Brown's alliance with the champion of the latter party to intermeddle with the Upper Canada School system.

With the Roman Catholics as above described, we have ever lived, and I trust ever will live in a spirit of friendship, confidence and co-operation, as the cement of union between Protestants and Catholics, and between Upper and Lower Canada; but from the Papists we can expect nothing but disturbance and aggression. Yet, marvellous to say, while you charge me with the imaginary crime of having "political allies in the present Government," you have united yourself as a "political ally" with an avowed Papist as above distinguished from a Roman Catholic by the *London Times*. You know that in my successive School Reports and otherwise, I have protested against men, not residents in Upper Canada, interfering with the School system of Upper Canada; and these views have been strongly endorsed by the *Globe*, which has loudly and frequently denounced intermeddling with the school affairs of Upper Canada by what it termed "priest-ridden" politicians of Lower Canada. Yet after all this, and after having assailed me on the score of "political allies," even with no other than the alleged view of maintaining our existing school system, you have formed a political alliance with a man of Lower Canada in order to modify the school system of Upper Canada, accepting his dictation and proposing to send him to Ireland to import a school system for Upper Canada, as a substitute for that already established, and that man holding the avowed sentiments of the sect which the *London Times* describes as Papists. I need scarcely say that I mean Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., M.P.P., of Montreal; nor should I mention his name, or make any allusion to him as your "political ally," had he not, on different occasions, declared with your concurrence, and as your "ally," what should, and what should not be in regard to changing our school system. You have commended Mr. McGee as a man who has for many years advocated liberal opinions, and have recognized and approved his dictation in the school affairs of Upper Canada. But you have not informed the public, and perhaps Mr. McGee has not informed you, that he has repented of and recanted all his former liberal opinions, and

* The whole of this and the succeeding paragraphs, 11, 12, 13, and 14, were omitted from the letter as published in the *Weekly Globe*. See paragraph 40.

has avowed a creed subversive of everything Protestant and liberal and elevating in Upper Canada. It is true Mr. McGee was so liberal that in 1849, as *The Leader* has shown by apt quotations, he fell under the displeasure of the "Papistical" part of the Roman Catholic clergy in both Ireland and the United States; but four years afterwards he declared his repentance and made his confession, and avowed the creed and the motto of his future life.

12. Mr. McGee's recantation, and confession.—His warning against English, German and Parisian ideas as at bottom Protestant.

I have before me a printed copy of a lecture delivered by Mr. McGee before the Catholic Institute of New York in 1853, on "*The Political Causes and Consequences of the Protestant Reformation*"—a pamphlet which I have procured through an agent from the publishers in New York, Messrs. D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 164 William street. Mr. McGee thus makes his recantation and confession:—"Before I close let me say a word to those friends (some of whom I see here) who remember when I maintained some opinions different from those I have here expressed. Some years ago I went into the discussion of great questions, of government and revolution, with all the rash confidence of one and twenty. I deeply regret I did so. I fear I gave offence where I should have rendered obedience, and pain where I should have given pleasure. I may have misled others, since I so misguided myself. What excited my apprehension was, that those whom I knew to be the social enemies of our religion and race, applauded my career. I hesitated—I reflected—I repented. I then resolved never again to write upon such subjects without a careful and conscientious study of facts and principles in each case. If perplexities arise as to principle, then we have the Christian doctrine, or the living voice of the Church, to refer to for the decision of our doubts. In this spirit I have of late read history, and in this spirit I have meditated upon the subject which I have had the honor to present to you to-night.

"I am convinced that no great historical or human interest can now be greatly discussed without the exposition of the first principles, of Catholic principles. It is an age which takes nothing for granted, except its own self-sufficiency; it cannot be too often brought to the touch-stone of theological science.

"I am convinced there is such a science as Christian politics; I am certain that it is the science of true progress, of general peace, of legal liberty. I am equally convinced that the constant repetition of English, German, and Parisian ideas—which are at bottom Pro-

testant ideas—have misled many Catholic young men into adopting maxims and rules, of private and public life which they cannot defend by reason, or in conscience, and which religion emphatically condemns," (pp. 25, 26.).

Such is Mr. McGee's deliberate recantation, confession, and warning against English, German, and Parisian ideas, as at the bottom Protestant ideas.

13. The rule of Mr. McGee's future life declared to be "MORE POWER TO THE POPE"—The Protestant Reformation a "German Rebellion".

The following is his statement of the principles and objects of his social progress, and the rule of his future life:—

"I do not deny the modern progress of mankind in many useful arts, but I question whether many theories of social progress now so rife, are really sound, and I believe the direction pointed out is wrong. I am for progress, with all my heart, but I want to know who is at the helm, and whether or not the steersman can 'box the compass.' I am certainly not going to sea with a crew of land lubbers, and a pilot who cannot tell how many points there are between S.S.W. and N.N.E. I am anxious to have a wise, experienced and authoritative head and hand in the leader of our progress now, and I am well content that hand should be unfettered, and that head should be crowned with the shining circlet of authority. All true Christians, should act to-day, as Charlemagne did a thousand years ago, by the lawful head of Christendom, and instead of limiting or begrudging the authority of our great leader, we should keep as a motto for ever before our eyes, and those of our children, this short sentence—*More power to the Pope*. [Mr. McGee's own italics.] For I verily believe that if the ratio of right progress which pervaded the middle ages, from the age of the Barbarians to the age of Chivalry—I verily believe if that ratio had not been checked by the German rebellion [Protestant Reformation] against Rome—that the Christian world would be to-day far more virtuous, more peaceful, more free, and more happy than it is." (P. 13.)

14. Dangerous Political doctrine of Mr. Brown's "ally"—How would it sound—"More power to the Bishop, the Synod, or the Conference!"

Be it observed that Mr. McGee treats not of the religious, but of the "*political* causes and consequences of the Protestant Reformation." It is therefore *politically* that he warns against English, and Parisian, and Protestant ideas, and that *politically* he makes the hand of his "great leader to be unfettered," and his authority unlimited, and *politically* he declares as the motto of "all true Christians" and their children, and the golden rule of his own life, "*More power to the Pope!*"

With these views and aims, it is not surprising that Mr. McGee should be patronised by that section of the Roman Catholic clergy, and by those newspapers which

have demanded, and continue to demand, the destruction of our public school system as a condition of peace; but it is surprising that, in view of the past, and of what you know to be the sentiments of the people of Upper Canada, you should, for any momentary political consideration, select a man entertaining such views and purposes, as your "political ally." If an Episcopalian, were to avow, as the motto of his life, "More power to the Bishop," a Presbyterian, "More power to the Synod," or a Methodist, "More power to the Conference," how soon would a man avowing such sentiments be hustled from public life by the indignant voice of all classes of the community! And is a man who avows as his life's motto, "More power to the Pope," to be supported by all classes of community as you recommend?

15. Mr. Brown's heartless taunt.—His betrayal of Upper Canada.—Principles of his new "ally."

SIR—I may, as you intimate, be in my "dotage," at the age of 55; but better to lose one's reason than sacrifice his religious faith, or the liberties of his country. However that may be, I leave the public to

judge of the merits of my conduct in regard to your several allegations, and in regard to my many years' efforts and struggles to establish and extend a school system in Upper Canada, based upon equal Christian interests and rights of all classes of the community, and the sacred municipal and individual rights of the people, as also of the merits of your conduct in assailing me and selecting for your "political ally," and as the architect of a future system of public instruction for Upper Canada, a man who is not a resident in it, or elected by any portion of its inhabitants, who belongs to that sect in a church, and is the chosen representative of that section of the press, which advocates the annihilation of filial safety and parental authority by the kidnapping of children at the pleasure of the priesthood, who regards the Protestant Reformation as a "German Rebellion," and "English," and "Parisian," and Protestant ideas as dangerous, and avows as the motto of his life,—*More power to the Pope!*"

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Dec. 8, 1858.

Dr. Ryerson's Series of Letters in reply to the attacks of Mr. Brown, "Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor" of the *Globe* Newspaper.

(PRELIMINARY LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE "LEADER" AND "COLONIST.")

16. Mr. Brown's gross and scurrilous attack on Dr. Ryerson, and his valiant refusal to insert a reply!

SIR,—Will you do me the favor to insert the following notes which have passed between one of the Editors of the *Globe* and myself, as also the first of a series of letters which I have addressed to the Honorable George Brown in answer to his gross attacks upon me.

In order that your readers may understand the whole question, I beg to state that the *Globe* of the 6th and 8th instant, in noticing my last Annual School Reports made unscrupulous attacks upon myself. I sent a reply within ten hours after receiving the concluding part of the attack, requesting a copy of the printed proof of my letter for correction. Within twenty-four hours a printed proof of my reply to the *Globe's* attacks was sent to me as requested, but the publication of my reply was deferred until the following Thursday a week, and was then followed by seven columns of rejoinder by the *Globe*—five columns of which were signed by Mr. George Brown himself. I

proposed to reply in four or five letters, the whole of which to be less in length than the seven columns of the renewed and multiplied attacks of the *Globe*. I sent the first letter of my reply to the *Globe* Tuesday afternoon, accompanied by a private note to the Honorable George Brown, "Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor of the *Globe*," requesting to be informed through the *Globe*, next day, when or whether my letter would be published in that journal. There was no notice or acknowledgment of my communication in the *Globe* of Wednesday, when I addressed to the Editor of that paper the first of the following notes.

It will be seen from the second of the following notes, that it is the object of the *Globe* to prevent me from replying through its columns to its attacks, under the pretext of requiring all my letters before deciding upon the insertion of any one of them, and then he would doubtless allege some exceptionable passage in some one of them, as an excuse for excluding all of them, while, in the meantime, his own misstatements and misrepresentations would be circulating unrefuted and uncontradicted. The reason

of such a proceeding on the part of the *Globe* will be sufficiently apparent from the perusal of the first of my letters in reply to his attacks.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Thursday afternoon, Dec. 23.

17. Mr. Brown dares not let his readers see Dr. Ryerson's reply to his personal onslaught—the third part of his contract with his new "allies."

P.S., Friday, Dec. 24.—Since the foregoing note was written yesterday, the *Globe* of this morning has appeared, containing the following editorial paragraph:—

"The Superintendent of Education has sent us a communication of some length, which purports to be the first of a series of letters in rejoinder to what has appeared on the Separate School question, for which he desires to find space in the columns of the *Globe*. We have already informed the Rev. gentleman, and repeat it now, that we are ready to give him all reasonable opportunity to explain and defend himself, but before commencing the publication of his letters, which would, of course, involve the completion of them whatever they might contain, or whatever their length, the whole must be placed in our hands. Dr. Ryerson, anxious to appear as martyr to the tyranny of the Press, demands unrestricted control of our columns, or will seek another channel of communicating with the public. He must please himself."

It will be seen that the above paragraph was written by the editor of the *Globe* with my note of Wednesday evening, and my first letter in reply to his attacks, before him. In the latter I stated expressly that the whole series of my letters should be shorter in length than his attacks upon me; and in the former, I stated that if any one of the series of letters should contain matter or language unsuitable to the occasion, he would of course exercise his discretion in refusing to insert it. Yet, in the face of these engagements, on my part, he refuses to insert my first letter, and writes the above paragraph, representing me as demanding the insertion of letters at any length, and "unrestricted control of his columns!" It is by this course of systematic falsehood he misrepresents me to his readers, and then descends to such dishonorable pretexts to prevent me from defending myself through the same medium.

E. R.

* Mr. Brown, though he fears to publish Dr. Ryerson's reply to his attacks, publishes with evident glee, in the same number of the *Globe* which contained the above, a pompous and "solemn" appeal to Dr. Ryerson, from his ally, Mr. McGee, when he had predetermined that Dr. Ryerson should not have an opportunity of replying in his columns. Letter vii. of this series, exhibits, however, the fool-hardiness of this inconsiderate appeal from the "ally," as well as exposes the nature of their traitorous alliance.

(Copy.)

Private.

(TO THE EDITOR OF THE *GLOBE*.)

SIR,—I will thank you to inform me, by the bearer of this note, whether it is intended to publish in the *Globe* the letter which I enclosed to you yesterday.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed)

E. RYERSON.

Wednesday Dec. 22.

[No answer was returned by the bearer of the above note, which was delivered about noon. He called at the *Globe* office again some two hours afterwards, and was told that Mr. Gordon Brown was copying an answer, and would send it shortly. Between four and five o'clock the following note was received, which does not acknowledge or reply to the foregoing note.]

(Copy.)

"GLOBE" OFFICE, Toronto, Dec. 22.

REV. SIR—A letter with your signature, intended for publication in the *Globe*, was received last night, accompanied by a private note to Mr. George Brown. In the document I find an intimation that it is the first of a series of four or five, which you propose to send from time to time. You will readily be afforded all the space necessary for your own defence, and for the discussion of the questions at issue between yourself and this journal, but we cannot commence the publication of a series of communications without knowing the contents of the whole. I am, &c.,

(Signed)

J. G. BROWN.

Rev. Dr. Ryerson, &c. &c.

[The foregoing note was received while the Council of Public Instruction was sitting. On the adjournment of the Council, between six and seven, the following reply to the above note was written, and sent to the *Globe* office at 8 o'clock in the evening:—]

18. The unfair and unjust conduct of Mr. Brown in strong contrast with that of the "Editor-in-Chief" of all respectable newspapers.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 22.

SIR—In reply to your note of this date, I beg to say that the contents of my proposed letters, in reply to the attacks of the *Globe*, have already been given in the concluding part of my letter for the *Globe* to which you refer; and if any of my future letters should contain matter, or be expressed in language unsuitable to the occasion, it will, of course, be competent for you to decide upon its insertion in the *Globe*, when received. The possibility of such an event can be no reason for objection or delay in the publication of the letter already sent to you. It is time enough to object to the insertion of a letter, when

one is sent inconsistent with usage in such discussions.

More than one series of my letters have been inserted in the *London Times*, and other newspapers; but I was never asked for the whole series before the publication of the first one.

Mr. George Brown, and the other editors of the *Globe*, have assailed me by every kind of vituperation and misrepresentation, and have also misrepresented important questions connected with the school system. You have, of course, the same power to deprive me of any fair opportunity to reply, so far as the *Globe* is concerned, as you had to assail me.

The *London Times* has invariably opened

its columns to any public officer, to reply, in his own manner, to editorial or other attacks upon him in that journal. You may do otherwise; but the public will judge of the unfairness and gross injustice of such a course.

I have only to add, that if I do not learn from you, or through the *Globe* to-morrow morning, that my letter will be inserted in that journal, I shall forthwith take steps to publish it through other mediums, together with my notes to the chief editor of the *Globe* and your reply. I have, &c.,

[Signed] E. RYERSON.

J. Gordon Brown, Esq. *Globe* Office.

[No answer was received to the foregoing letter.]

No. I.—Mr. Brown's literary forgeries—His evasions of the Real Question—His subterfuge, and tyrannical attempts to gag Dr. Ryerson.

To the Hon. George Brown, M. P. P.,
"Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor" of the
Globe [so styled in the *Globe* of Dec. 16th.]

19. Mr. Brown's Herculean labours on behalf of his new Alliance—Don Quixote and the Windmill—Mr. B's dishonesty and imposition exposed—Shown to be the most unscrupulous public man in Canada.

SIR,—In the *Globe* of the 16th instant, I have attentively read your letter to me of five columns and your editorial of two columns, in reply to my letter of three columns, and I have been surprised that while in effort and toil you seem to have rivalled the twelve labors of Hercules, in argument you have fought like Don Quixote at the windmills; that in statement you have misrepresented the points of difference, and in reasoning you have evaded the main questions, and bestowed all your strength upon side issues; that in personality you have exceeded your ordinary self, and in quotation you have systematically falsified my reports from 1846 to 1858. In not one instance have you fairly quoted my reports, and in every instance you have wrested my words to prove what they disprove in their legitimate connection. In two instances you have quoted the first sentence of a paragraph to make me say the reverse of what the whole paragraph imports; in two instances you have quoted the last sentence of a paragraph for the same unworthy purpose; and in one instance you actually close your quotation in the middle of a sentence, and suppress the last half of the sentence which declares in the plainest language possible the reverse of what you represent me to

have stated. A cause that requires such means of support must be a bad one, and a man that resorts to such acts of dishonesty and imposition to blacken another, is left to the reader to characterize and the public to judge. I cannot say with the Post—

"Who stabs my name, would stab my person too,
Did not the hangman's axe lie in the way,"

but I must say that, in the course of a public life and stormy period of Provincial history of more than thirty years, during which I have come into controversial contact with men of all orders and professions, I have never had to do with one holding the rank of a gentleman, so unscrupulous as yourself. A question of public policy—an exceptional provision in a system of public instruction—is a matter in which men may and ought to differ without the slightest feeling of mutual estrangement, much less a feeling of mutual hostility; but you have made a difference on such a question an occasion and pretext of attacks and imputations which, if well founded, would justly exclude me as an outcast from society, and render my children worse than fatherless; and to sustain your statements you resort to a species of literary forgery such as has no precedent in the political literature of Canada. This I will demonstrate in four or five letters; the whole of which, however, shall be shorter than your seven columns of evasions, of misquotations, of misrepresentations, and personal calumnies. In the meantime I devote the present short letter to two preliminary and general remarks.

20. Mr. Brown's evasion of the real question at issue, as to whether the Protestants of Lower Canada shall not have equal protection with the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada—feeling of the Lower Canada Protestants on the subject.

1. The first remark relates to the real question at issue. This you have studiously misrepresented. You have represented it as one relating to the necessity and propriety of Separate Schools, and have quoted me to show that I have formerly viewed them as needless and even hurtful to the parties establishing them, while I now advocate them. The former of your statements is true, the latter is untrue; for in my last report just printed, I have stated the several respects in which I consider Separate Schools needless and injurious to their supporters. But that is a matter for the parties themselves, and not for me, to decide. The real question at issue, and which you have concealed and misrepresented, is, not whether Separate Schools are expedient or inexpedient, not whether the permission of them is a wise or unwise provision of the law, not whether in certain places they are beneficial or injurious; but the question is, whether the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada should be treated the same as the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, that if the latter has legal provisions for "dissentient" Schools where they wish to establish them, whether the former should not have similar provision for "Separate Schools," where they wish to establish them. The "dissentient" School, from the greater wealth of Protestants, may in some instances lessen the means of supporting the Common School in Lower Canada, to a much greater extent than the "Separate" School lessens the means of supporting the Common School in Upper Canada. But that is not the question. The question is, shall the Protestants of Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada stand on equal ground and have equal rights in the provisions of the School law? This, I have affirmed and maintained from the beginning; this you have denied and sought to prevent. I have indeed desired to change this state of things in both Upper and Lower Canada. I have gone so far as to confer with the leading Protestants in Montreal, including Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists, and said to them that if they would consent, and get any sufficient expression of consent from the Protestant inhabitants of Lower Canada to the abolition of the clauses of the law for the establishment of "dissentient" Schools, I would urge the abolition of the clauses of the law for the establishment of

could not consent to it—it could not be done without the greatest injustice and injury to the Protestant inhabitants of Lower Canada. I then said the clauses of the law for Separate Schools in Upper Canada must remain equally just with those for the establishment of "dissentient" Schools in Lower Canada. For doing this you ascribe to me the vilest motives; yet for the equity of doing so, I appeal to the judgment and heart of every just man in Upper Canada—whether the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada are to be treated with less justice and liberality than the Protestants of Lower Canada?

21. Mr. Brown's subterfuge.—Is at home in his assaults on character, but he fears to discuss principles.—He alone responsible for these letters.

2. My second remark relates to your charge that my reply to your attacks is a mere pretext for entering the "political arena" and making a "political assault" on you and others, who have acted with you. This is characteristic of your whole mode of warfare; not discussing acts but impugning motives, which can only be known to the Searcher of hearts; not investigating principles, but assailing characters—knowing that if you can destroy the reputation of men who differ from you (the vital heart of their public, moral and civil life) you can, like the man who takes the physical life of another, succeed to what they possess; a mode of warfare as corrupting to the minds of the community as the poison of infidelity, as vitiating to the popular heart as it is unjust and cruel in itself. My motives in replying to your attacks are as much beyond my power of proof, as above your right of impeachment. The acts of which man alone can judge, and from which alone motives can be inferred, are as follows: You not merely questioned the wisdom of the Separate School clauses of the law, which you had an undoubted right to do; you not merely objected to certain parts of my report, which you had an equal right to do; but you charged me with wilful falsehood, with inconsistent and mercenary conduct, with having "political allies" whom I was endeavoring to support. To these most injurious and fatal charges (if true) I replied; but in doing so, I discussed no topic which you had not introduced, and which was not involved in a natural and legitimate reply to your charges; and I referred to no public man but yourself, except Mr. McGee, to whom I referred as a retort of your charge as to my alleged "political allies," and whom you had selected as your political ally in the school affairs of Upper Canada. Now, it is as clear as day, that if you had not

thus assailed me, I would not have replied to you, and therefore could not have entered into any "arena" of controversy whatever. The responsibility of the discussion therefore, rests entirely with yourself, as well as its consequences.

22. Mr. Brown having "judged the judges," attempts to gag Dr. Ryerson—What a Napoleon for Canada he would make!

But was it not rather mean and cowardly for you to attack me, and do so again and again, in the manner you have done, if you presumed upon my having no right or liberty of reply? And is it not equally pitiful and unmanly for you now to attempt to gag me, after having made your attacks to the extent of two columns and a half, and then enlarged them to the length of seven columns more? But I ought not to complain or be surprised at such conduct on your part, not only from past experience, but since I see in this day's *Globe* nearly three columns of similar attacks upon all the Judges of the Courts of both the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas; men in a more sacred and defenceless position than myself; men independent of the Crown and sworn to administer the laws truly and impartially between man and man, and even between the Sovereign and the people; men who are above any temptation to be partial, whose integrity has never been suspected, and on the public confidence in whose purity the most sacred interests of our country and of humanity depend; yet men whose motives and integrity you ruthlessly assail, because they have not interpreted and applied the law as you had dictated to them. Sir, the Despot of France silences by imprisonment and exile men who will not do his will, and who write a free thought on his government, and he appoints Judges to interpret his mandates as law; you would condemn my pen to silence, if not exile my person, while you would drive from their seats the Chief Justice Robinsons of the land for not recording as law your editorial and after dinner denunciations. What a Napoleon you would make for Canada were the country at your feet!

23. Mr. Brown's charge of political partizanship thrown back with contempt.—What will be proved in the following letters.

It is perhaps needless for me to say another word in reply to your charge that my letter to you was the dictate of political partizanship; but I may add, that I had not even seen, or had the slightest communication with any one of your political op-

ponents, either in or out of the Government, from before the publication of my report until after I sent you my reply to your attacks. I have long believed the truth of the remark in Lacon: "He that loves you for your politics, loves you less than his breakfast, and he that hates you, hates you worse than the devil." You furnish a brilliant illustration of the latter, and I have witnessed more than one example of the former. I have nothing more to do with the various questions, political and financial, which are battled between political parties in this country, than I have with the party politics of Great Britain. No Sir, it is you who have attempted to drag the school system from its neutral ground into the arena of party, while I wish, as in all past time, to rescue it from the fangs of political partizanship. If your old Protestant and Orange hobby had become inconvenient for your purposes of party, and had to be dismissed the service, it was not seemly, any more than it was just or patriotic, for you to seize upon the school system as a substitute, since the latter is not the creature of party, but the creation and property of the country. And if your party fingers should get severely burnt for attempting to appropriate to your own party use what is sacred to Upper Canada at large, without distinction of sect or party, you have only to bear the smart as best you can, and not do the like in future, and you will never meet with hostility or complaint on my part.

With these prefatory and general remarks, I will proceed in my future letters, to the matter of fact business.

1. To expose the unfairness and downright dishonesty of your quotations from my reports.

2. To show the consistency, the wisdom and patriotism of the course which has been pursued in regard to the separate school clauses of the law.

3. To contrast the conduct of other public men and of two governments of different parties with that which you have pursued in regard to the school law and myself, and prove what I have intimated as to your McGee alliance and mission.

4. To review your conduct in school matters, and to hold up to merited scorn your unjust and vile personal attacks.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Dec. 20, 1858.

No. II.—Mr. Brown's false quotations—five examples from the Reports of 1846, 1848, and 1852.

24. Macaulay on Misrepresentation.—Mr. Brown's is downright dishonesty in quotation.

SIR,—Lord Macaulay has said :—"No misrepresentation should be allowed to pass unrefuted. When a silly letter makes its appearance in the corner of a provincial newspaper, it will not do to say, 'What stuff!' We must remember that such statements, constantly reiterated, and seldom answered, will assuredly be believed." This is doubtless your reason for reiterating without end misrepresentations respecting individuals and things, assuming that they will assuredly be believed, as they are seldom answered; and this is my reason for making it a rule to answer misrepresentations against the school system, or against myself in connection with it, in order that I may maintain its principles inviolate and its administration unimpaired. The business of my present letter is, to expose the *misrepresentations and downright dishonesty of your quotations from my reports, respecting the Separate School provisions of the law.*

You represent me as having admitted the "utter impropriety of separate schools," that they were "wrong in principle, unnecessary and inequitable," and therefore that the provisions of the law permitting separate schools ought to be abolished; and to prove that such were my published views down to a recent date, you profess to quote my reports published in 1846, 1848, 1852, 1855, and 1856.

25. Mr. Brown's first example of dishonest quotation and suppression, detected and exposed.

Your first quotation is from my *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada* (my first report, 1846,) and is as follows: "I am persuaded all that is essential to the moral interests of youth may be taught in what are called mixed schools." Now, this passage does not assert or imply that I regarded Separate Schools as "wrong in the principle" or "inequitable." But it is only the last half of the last sentence of a paragraph in which the principle and existence of separate schools are assumed. I was not discussing separate schools, but explaining the extent to which religious instruction had been introduced into the schools of Prussia, and how far it ought to be provided for in Canadian schools. The whole paragraph (from which you quote a part of the last half of the last sentence) relating to religious instruction in our Canadian schools, is as follows—(what you have sup-

pressed is placed between hands; and is in large type):—

"The foregoing observations and illustrations apply for the most part to a population consisting of both Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Law provides against interfering with the religious scruples of each class in respect both to religious books and the means of establishing Separate Schools. In the school districts (now called school sections) where the whole population is either Protestant or Roman Catholic and where, consequently, the schools come under the character of Separate, the principle of religious instruction can be carried out into as minute detail as may accord with the wishes of either class of the population; though I am persuaded that all that is essential to the moral interests of youth may be taught in what are called mixed schools." (p. 51.)

Now, the above paragraph shows that in the first Report I ever submitted to Government, I assumed the existence of separate schools, and spoke of the law providing the means of establishing them, as well as of mixed schools; yet you quote a part of the last half of the last sentence to prove that I condemned separate schools as "inequitable," "utterly improper," and "wrong in principle!" Sir, the reader must see that you could not have garbled my words as you did, without knowing that you were falsifying them and misrepresenting me.

26. Second example of Mr. Brown's dishonest quotation and mutilation exposed.

Your second and third quotations are from my report of 1848, and are still more unfair and dishonest. I give them in your own order and with your own capitals. Addressing me you say :—

"In your Annual Report, dated 14th September, 1848, you said:—'I am far from advocating the establishment of denominational schools.' And again: 'It has been provided in each of these Acts that any ten householders of any school section can demand a separate school, and a portion of the school fund to support it. I HAVE NEVER SEEN THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH A PROVISION IN CONNECTION WITH ANOTHER SECTION OF THE Common School Law, which provides that no child shall be compelled to read any religious book or attend any religious exercise contrary to the wishes of its parents or guardians; and besides the APPARENT INEXPEDIENCY OF the provisions of this law, it has been seriously objected to as inequitable—PERMITTING THE ROMAN CA-

TRULY PERSUASION TO HAVE A DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL, BUT NOT GRANTING ONE PROTESTANT PERSUASION THE SAME PRIVILEGE."

Now, will the reader believe, that the former of the above quotations is only the middle of a sentence half a page subsequent to where the second quotation is taken, and from a sentence the whole of which states the reverse of what you quote it to prove me to have stated? And will it also be believed that you isolate the second quotation from words which precede it, and which words show that so far from condemning the "principle of Separate Schools as wrong," I was actually vindicating a provision in a then new School Act for Cities and Towns, which provided for the establishment of Separate Schools? Yet such are the facts, as I will now show. I will first quote the sentences in my report, which immediately precede the second of the above quotations. They are as follows:

"There is one provision in this Act, on which I desire to offer a few words of explanation, as its nature and objects have been misapprehended. I refer to the power which it gives to the School authorities of each City and Town to establish denominational or mixed Schools as they may deem expedient. It has not, perhaps, occurred to those who have commented on this clause, that a similar provision, under a much more objectionable form, has been incorporated into each of the three School Acts for Upper Canada which have been passed since 1840. It has been provided in each of these Acts," &c., as is given in your quotation. Thus I was actually justifying a provision of the law, which you wrested my words from their proper connexion to prove that I condemned! I expressed whenever opportunity offered my preference for Mixed Schools over Separate Schools, just as I expressed my preference for *Free* Schools over *Rate-bill* Schools; but I maintained the right of the people to judge and act for themselves in these matters, and to follow my advice or not as they might think proper."

27. Third example of Mr. Brown's Mutilation and Suppression detected and exposed.

Then, Sir, I have said that the former of the above quotations was a phrase torn by you out of the middle of a sentence to prove that I condemned the provision of the law for the establishment of Separate Schools, when the whole sentence shows that I was actually justifying the continuance of that provision. I will quote the whole sentence, and the reader by comparing it with the former of the above quotations, will see the part that you garbled and wrested from its natural connexion. The sentence is as follows:

"My report on a system of elementary public instruction for Upper Canada, as well as various decisions and opinions which I have given, amply show that ~~as~~ I am far from advocating the establishment of denominational schools; ~~as~~ but I was not prepared to condemn what had been sanctioned by two successive Parliaments, and in adapting that provision [for Separate Schools] to the present system of Schools in Cities and Towns, I know not how it can be placed upon a more equitable and less exceptionable footing." (p. 23.)

What I thus stated in 1848 as a reason for continuing the Separate School provisions of the law, is identical with what I have stated in my recent report in 1858, except that instead of assigning the sanction of two successive Parliaments, I now assign the sanction of all the Parliaments and Governments of Canada since 1840. Yet you, Sir, to use your own words, have the "audacity" to garble my report for 1848, and extract sentences and half sentences, and wrest them from their natural connexion, to make me say the reverse of what I stated and advocated.

28. Fourth flagrant example of Mr. Brown's disingenuousness and dishonesty exposed.

But there is a third most flagrant example of your disingenuousness and dishonesty, in your third quotation from the same report. Your quotation is as follows, with your own italics:—

"It appears that in all the Cities and Towns (except the Cities of Toronto and Kingston, from which no reports have been received on the subject,) there are only 41 Separate Schools, Protestant and Roman Catholic, in Upper Canada. These, I believe, are generally of an inferior class. *The number of them has been diminishing from year to year.* The very small number of them shows that the provisions of the law permitting their establishment is of very little importance either for good or evil. I believe the fewer of these Separate Schools the better for the interests of youth and the diffusion of general education."

Now, can the reader believe that you have actually suppressed the last half of the last sentence of the above quotation, and stopped in the middle of the sentence? But such is the fact. The whole sentence in my report is as follows:—

"I believe the fewer of these Separate Schools the better for the interests of youth, and the diffusion of general education; ~~as~~ but it is, perhaps, better to leave the law as it is in respect to Separate Schools, than to have an agitation arising from the repeal of it." (p. 23.)

You, Sir, suppress the latter part of the

sentence, and quote the former part to prove, that in 1848, I opposed what I recommended in 1858, in respect to the Separate School provisions of the law! The reverse of the fact.

Thus, Sir, in each of the above four quotations from my reports of 1846 and 1848, you stand convicted of gross injustice, dishonesty, and imposition upon the public, who will know what confidence to place in your quotations and statements whenever you have an individual or party object to promote.

My report of 1848 was enclosed to the Honorable R. B. Sullivan, then Provincial Secretary in Mr. Baldwin's Administration, and shows how identical my views and recommendations in regard to the Separate School clauses of the law were in 1848, with those which I have expressed in 1858.

29. Mr. Brown's fifth dishonest quotation.

You next quote from my report for 1851, in which I did not discuss the Separate School clauses of the law, but the question of religious instruction in schools, in answer to objections of certain clergymen of the Church of England who advocated the abolition of the whole system of mixed schools, and the substitution of denominational schools in their place. In my report I showed that the ends of religious instruction could be as effectually secured in a system of mixed, as in a system of denominational schools, while the former tended infinitely more than the latter to diffuse general education. Passages in such an argument you unfairly and absurdly quote to prove my condemnation of the separate school provisions of the law.

Then you quote from my report for 1852 the following words:—

"I do not think the grounds on which separate schools are established, are valid; I do not think there is any reasonable necessity for such schools."

This quotation is as dishonest as those I have above described. It is the first two members of a sentence in the middle of a paragraph, and in the eighth of ten reasons I assigned in 1852 for maintaining the provisions of the law in regard to separate schools. The whole paragraph was a virtual appeal to the supporters of separate schools. Notwithstanding its length, I give it entire as follows:—

"8. The most, and, in my opinion, only, effectual method of causing the ultimate discontinuance and abandonment of separate schools is to retain the existing provision of the law on the subject. That provision secures all that is granted to the dissenting minority of

any municipality in Lower Canada; all that can be equitably asked for by such minority in any municipality of Upper Canada. [51] I do not think the grounds on which separate schools are established, are valid; I do not think there is any reasonable necessity for such schools; [52] I think the law provides amply for the protection of the religious faith and morals of all classes in the public schools; I think those who establish separate schools voluntarily and needlessly place themselves and their children at a disadvantage in regard to sound education and in relation to the community at large; I think it is impossible to make, as a general rule, the separate schools as efficient and cheap as the public schools; I think no other schools can stand long in competition with the public free schools, especially in our cities, towns, and villages. But it is for the parties concerned to judge of their own interests and inclination, not me. I am persuaded nothing but actual experiment will satisfy them; and I am equally persuaded that that experiment, the longer and more extensively it is tried, will produce only the deeper and wider conviction as to the disadvantage and inexpediency of separate schools. Experience and observation will teach the parties concerned, that their fellow citizens of other religious persuasions are not the unbelievers and dangerous characters they are represented to be; that they have more interests and feelings in common with them, than in opposition to them; that the tendencies of the age, and of all the institutions and enterprises of our country, are to co-operation and union among all classes of citizens, rather than to isolation and estrangement from each other; that there is no part of the civil and social economy in which this general co-operation and unity are more important and advantageous to all parties, than in the mental development of the whole youthful population of the country, and the diffusion of general knowledge; that as all situations of public trust and employment in our country are directly or indirectly depending upon the elective voice of the people, every man is inflicting an injury upon his children, who seek to isolate them from that acquaintance and intercourse and community of feeling with their fellow-citizens, which, in the very nature of things, is necessary to secure general confidence and favor. These silent and natural, but powerful influences and obvious considerations will be more decisive and effective, as to the multiplication and perpetuation of separate schools, than all the arbitrary legislation that can be invoked on the subject. The burdens and disadvantages which are voluntarily embraced, and self-incurred, cannot be complained of as a grievance, and will not be long regarded as a privilege."—(pp. 21, 22.)

Whether my argument was sound or not, or whether my policy of persuasion was better than that of coercion is not now the question; it is perfectly clear that your quotation was garbled and dishonest, and

intended to represent me as saying the reverse of the import of the whole passage.

You adopt the same species of garbling and wresting my words from their natural connexion and meaning in quoting my report and letters of 1855, 1856, and 1857; but these will sufficiently appear hereafter when I shall show the consistency, wisdom, and patriotism of the course which has been pursued in respect to the separate school provisions of the law.

In the meantime, the above five examples of your dishonest quotations from my reports of 1846, 1848, and 1852, amply justify the strong remarks of my last letter, and demonstrate the unjust and truthless means you employ to impugn me and to deceive the public.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Dec., 21st, 1858.

No. III.—Parliamentary and Governmental Proceedings in regard to the Separate School Provisions of the Law, from 1841 to 1851, inclusive.

SIR,—My next duty is, by a plain and simple statement of facts, to show the consistency, wisdom and patriotism of the course which has been pursued in regard to the Separate School Provisions of the Law.

30. Right of the people to determine as to a system of education.—Original ground on which the principle of Separate Schools was based.—Its continued sanction by the Legislature.

I think you will not deny that the people of a country have a right to establish or not establish a system of public instruction, and if they have a right to establish a system of public instruction they have a right to establish such a one as they please, whether denominational or non-denominational or both. I think the Legislature made a grave mistake when it inaugurated the principle of Separate Schools in common with that of mixed schools in 1841; I think it was unfortunate that it did so. Had it not done so I doubt whether the question would have ever become a matter of serious agitation in either section of the Province; and in the absence of such agitation probably more might have been done for the education of the Roman Catholic portion of the country than has been done. So, I believe, our American neighbors made a grave mistake when they inaugurated by law the principle of universal suffrage; but who will say that they had no right to do so, or that it would now be advisable to abolish it, or even practicable to do so? Nay, it now forms part of the civil rights of the people. So the denominations who have acquired charters or corporate powers for the establishment of colleges, academies, and schools, and legislative aid to assist in supporting them, ought not to be deprived of such right unless it can be shown that they have abused them, or that the continued possession of them is inimical to the public interest.

But the original and principal ground on which the separate clauses of the law are based, is that of legal equality between the Protestant minority of Lower Canada and the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada. It was regarded as a necessary protection of the minority in each section of United Canada. I think it was a mistake in legislation; but such was the fact. Accordingly it was provided for in the School Act of 1841, which was for the whole Province. Afterwards when that Act was repealed, and a School Act was passed for each section of the Province separately, the provision for "dissentient" schools in Lower Canada and "Separate" Schools in Upper Canada was made in each Act. The provision was made in the 55th and 56th sections of Mr. Hincks' School Act, 1843, and by re-enacting the same clauses in the 32nd and 33rd sections of the School Act of 1846. The draft of the last Act was prepared by myself, at the request of the Government, to give effect to my *Report on a system of Public Elementary Instruction in Upper Canada*, which, on my return from a year's tour of enquiry in Europe and the United States, had been submitted to, and approved of by the Government. In 1847, I submitted the draft of the Act for the better organization of Schools in the Cities and Towns of Upper Canada. The provision for Separate Schools was made in the 3rd clause of the 5th section of that Act, as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees of each city and town," *Thirdly*, to determine the number, sites and description of schools which shall be established in each city or town, and whether such schools shall be denominational or mixed."

This last phrase of the clause was omitted in the Act of 1850, the former part of the clause fully comprehending it.

In my Report for 1847, written and published in 1848, as quoted in my preceding letter, I justified the Separate School provisions of the law, not because I thought them expedient, or Separate Schools necessary or desirable, but because I was not prepared to condemn what had been unanimously sanctioned by two successive Parliaments, or to create an agitation arising out of the repeal of them.

31. *Objectionable Act of 1849.*—That of 1850 embodied the modifications suggested by experience.

Such was the state of the law in regard to Separate Schools, and my course in respect to it, 1849, when an Act was passed just after the burning of the Parliament House in Montreal, and a few hours before the close of the session; an act which I considered so objectionable that I preferred resigning office to acting under it, and which I was authorized to set aside, and at the same time to prepare the draft of another Act to replace it—a draft which became the School Act of 1850, containing the provisions of the School Acts of 1846 and 1847, with such modifications and additions as experience had suggested, and as the school system and amendments in the municipal law in 1848 required. The Act of 1849, as you say, contained no provision for Separate Schools; it also abolished the provisions of the previous act which authorized clergymen to act as visitors of schools, and contained a provision which would have excluded the Bible from being read in schools—the Bible having been ruled out of schools, whenever objected to, in the State of New York, under the same clause. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks had never examined the Bill of 1849 before it passed, and it never came into operation. You state, Sir, that the School Act of 1849 was in force from May, 1849, to July, 1850. In making that statement, did you not know that by express provision, the Act of 1849 did not come into force until the 1st of January, 1850, and that previous to this time the Governor in Council authorized me to maintain the regulations which had been adopted under previous acts, until the act of 1849 could be repealed by the Legislature, then soon to meet? All the papers on this subject were printed by order of the Legislative Assembly in 1850, including copies of all the correspondence on the School Law and Education which had taken place between members of the Government and myself from March, 1846, to April, 1850.

32. *Original Draft of 19th Section.*—Roman Catholics and high Episcopalians on the watch.—Their Plan.—Its Defeat.—Amusing finale.—Mr. Brown's own account of the Bill [see note.]

In the original draft of the 19th section of the School Act of 1850, I proposed to

place the authority for establishing Separate Schools upon the same footing as that on which it had been placed in Cities and Towns by the Act of 1847—namely, to leave it in the hands of the Township Council, as it had been left in the hands of the City or Town Board of Trustees. I had heard of no instance of refusal on the part of a Town or City Board of Trustees to grant an application for a Separate School; neither did I apprehend a refusal to any reasonable request on the part of a Township Council, while it would render that provision of the Act less objectionable to those who did not approve of it. But the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, having had their suspicions and fears excited by the unexpected and unnoticed omission of the Separate School clauses from the Act of 1849, had representatives, both clerical and lay, in attendance, to watch the nature and progress of the School Bill of 1850, and they protested against the provisions of the 19th section as originally introduced. Several leaders of the high Episcopalian party were also in attendance to get a clause providing for Church of England Separate Schools introduced into the Bill. An amendment to the 19th section was concerted and agreed upon by the clerical Roman Catholic and high Episcopalian parties, by which any twelve members of either church could demand a Separate School in any school section of Upper Canada; so that a Protestant and Roman Catholic Bishop, or other Clergyman, and eleven others of either church in Toronto could not only demand and establish a Separate School in Toronto, but in every city, town, village, and school section in Upper Canada—not requiring the choice or action of the laity in any school section out of Toronto for the establishment of a Separate School. The leaders on both sides of this new combination were very active, and, in the course of a few days, boasted that they would have a majority of fourteen or twenty votes against the Government, on the 19th section of the Bill. A copy of the amendment of the combinationists was procured for me, and I was informed of the probable defeat of the Government on the question. I saw, at once, that the proposed amendment, if carried, would destroy the School System, and in order to break up the combination and save the School System, I proposed to amend the 19th section of the Bill, so as to secure the right of establishing Separate Schools to the applicants, as provided in the School Acts of 1843 and 1846, only substituting twelve heads of families for ten freeholders or householders.

This was acceptable to the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, who said they did not wish to oppose the Government of Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin unless compelled to do so; and they then advised all the Roman Catholic members of the House to vote for the Government section of the Bill as amended. When the question came up in Committee of the whole House, the leader of the high church combination, who was not aware of the counter movement, rose to move the famous amendment which was to defeat, if not oust the Government; but he was surprised to find that not one of the Roman Catholic members rose to vote for it, and only six or eight Episcopalians standing up, "few and far between," in its behalf, to the great amusement of the other members of the House. On Mr. Hincks moving the section as amended, it was carried without a division, and it constitutes the 19th section of the Act of 1850 as it now stands.*

33. Mr. Brown's usual disregard of facts.—Cause of his opposition in 1850, personal.—Alternative before the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government.

You, Sir, in your disregard of facts, denounce this 19th section as the "Origin of the Separate School Law," and say that you advised Mr. Hincks to resign sooner

* The following is Mr. Brown's own account of the School Act of 1850, taken from the *Globe* of Aug. 13, 1856, and *Globe* of Dec. 1867, the latter issued just on the eve of the last general Elections, and *before* he had formed the unhappy McGee alliance—to cement which alliance he had given the "guarantee" (spoken of by the Hon. Mr. Thibaudeau further on) that he (Mr. B.) would "do full and entire justice to the Catholics of Upper Canada, *whether by the system of Separate Schools or any other system which would have had the same object!*" Mr. Brown said, in December, 1867: "Mr. Hincks' bill [of 1850] was too just to suit all. It offered offence to no man's faith; it simply provided for the secular education of every child in the Province. But the Roman Catholics must be on a better footing than all others. The Priests set to work to have a clause introduced, giving them the right to separate schools under sectarian management, with endowment from the public funds. Mr. Hincks resisted the proposal. The Priests bolted in every corner of the Parliament House—the cry of the craft was raised—and when the House was sounded, it was found that the Lower Canada members were determined to introduce the sectarian wedge, and would forsake their Upper Canadian friends on a division. Mr. Hincks should have flung up his office rather than to have permitted such a fatal injury to have been inflicted on the school system; but he succumbed to French Canadian dictation, and the 19th clause of the Act, unhappily, was accepted." Again, a little further on, Mr. Brown thus foreshadows the McGee alliance: "Electors of Upper Canada! These instructions of Charbonnel are being carried out all over the country—now, at this moment! It is done secretly! Romish priestcraft loves a secret bargain! Depend upon it, whenever you see a candidate shirking the Sectarian School question—talking of conciliation—talking of leaving things as they are (Mr. Brown then draws his McGee-alliance portrait, thus &c.) *however strongly he may profess general opposition to Sectarian Schools—that man has a secret bargain with the Priests, and will be found next session, when the Priests want him! The only way to secure a right settlement of this question is to vote for no man who will support any Government that is not sound on it!*" Were the McGee alliance and the Thibaudeau "guarantee" given above, "sound upon it?"

than assent to it, and that you shortly afterwards went into opposition. I have understood you went into opposition a few months afterwards when the members of the Government of that day refused to support you in your Haldimand election contest against Mr. Mackenzie, but never on account of the 19th section of the School Act. The alternative before the Government at that time was not the 19th section as it is, or no Separate School provision, but that section as it is, or the one which had been concocted and agreed upon between the High Church of England party and the authorities of the Church of Rome. Had the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government resigned on that question, as you say you urged Mr. Hincks, the school system would have been overthrown, and the country would have been deprived of the inestimable blessings which have resulted from the operations of the School Act of 1850. But by passing that Act, a foundation was laid for the School System and an impulse given to its development and expansion, such as was never before witnessed in this country, and such as has been unequalled in any country during the same period. I therefore appeal to the reader whether, under all the circumstances, the wisest and most patriotic course, and that which has conferred the greatest benefits upon the country, was not adopted by the Government and legislature in passing the Act of 1850 as it is!

34. Mr. Brown's magnified "blow" at the School system by the "unfortunate" Inspector-General.

I now come to the short Act of half a dozen lines passed in 1851, and which you say was "another blow at the integrity of the School system," by "the unfortunate Inspector-General's urging me to relieve him from his Sectarian School besiegers; that "it was afterwards elicited that I prepared the Bill in the presence of Bishop Charbonnel and Vicar-General McDonald, and received their formal thanks for my pains;" that "I cared not for the extension of denominational schools to other religious bodies, and the entire extinction of our educational system—the Ministry were besieged by their Roman Catholic supporters—and they found a way to remove any objections."

35. "More power to the Pope" met the Roman Catholic political creed of 1850.—Messrs. Brown and McGee screwing up their courage for their unnatural alliance in 1855.

Such is your charitable interpretation of that Act. Sir, the Roman Catholic supporters of that day did not profess as the pole star of their life, "More power to the Pope;" nor did they denounce as politically dangerous "English," and "Protes-

tant" and "*Parisian ideas*." It was left for you, their impugner, to select as *your* "political ally" the professor of that creed in order to obtain "Roman Catholic supporters." You, Sir, as the "political ally" of Mr. McGee, denounce statesmen such as Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine for having "Roman Catholic supporters," and then, after one of you had said (as I shall hereafter show) that a mixed school was incompatible with the Catholic faith, and the other had said, no peace with the Pope, no Popish school in Upper Canada, you can both, at the very moment of hoping to get into power, lay aside all the professions of past life in order to obtain and unite "Roman Catholic supporters" with Protestant supporters. I can easily imagine you and Mr. McGee, in review of such a crisis, animating each other in the words of the American satirist, as quoted in the *Free Church North British Review* for November.

*"Wal, sposin' we had to gulp down our perfissions,
We were ready to come out next mornin' with fresh
ones;
Besides ef we did, 'twas our business alone,
For could't we du wut we would with our own!
An' ef a man can, wen pervissions hev riz so,
Bat up his own words, 'tis a marcy it is so!"*

36. *Reasons for the Act of 1851.*—Roman Catholics of that day had not the example before them of one who had "judged the judges."—The Act itself and the reason for it.

And now, Sir, as to that egregious Separate School Bill of 1851, what were the reasons for it and the circumstances connected with its adoption? They were as follows: In the latter part of 1850, certain Roman Catholics applied for a *second* Separate School in the City of Toronto. The Board of School Trustees rejected their application upon the ground that the 19th section of the School Act of 1849 did not require them to permit the establishment of more than one Separate School in the city. The applicants appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench to compel the Board of School Trustees to grant their request. The court decided that according to the letter and grammatical construction of the Act, a city or town was only a school section, and the Trustees could not therefore be compelled by law to grant more than one Separate School, whatever might have been the intention of the Legislature. What did the applicants do then? They did not do as you have done, assail the motives and integrity of the Judges. They had a fine opportunity of doing so, and exciting their co-religionists in both Upper and Lower Canada. They might have called the Judges Protestant bigots and partizans, as you have called them Tory bigots and

partizans. They might have denounced them, as you have done, for adhering to the letter and grammatical construction of the law, and not according to the prosecutors' idea of its spirit and commonsense. But the "Roman Catholic supporters of the Ministry" of that day, had too much common honesty and decency to make such an assault upon the highest Judges of the land, and to try and make political capital from the cry that there was no justice even in the Courts of Law for the poor oppressed Catholics of Upper Canada. No, Sir, they had not then the lessons of your suggestive example before them. They simply sought a legislative remedy for a defect in the law, and applied in the proper quarter for that purpose. Mr. Hincks declined taking their complaint into consideration without consulting me, I being then absent in the United States and England, making the first selection of books for the Public Libraries, and arrangements for procuring them. On my return in June 1851, Mr. Hincks gave the papers and referred the Roman Catholic Bishop and Vicar-General to me. I could not for a moment admit the draft of the Bill they had prepared; but stated frankly that I had not intended to deprive them of any rights as to Separate Schools which had been conferred on them by the Act of 1846; that I had never anticipated or thought of the construction of the 19th section of the Act which had been put upon it by the Court of Queen's Bench; that by the Act of 1846, cities and towns were divided into school sections as well as townships; that the city of Toronto, under that Act, was divided into fourteen school sections, in each of which there might be a Separate School, according to the conditions of the law. But, I asked them, as there were now no school sections in the cities and towns, whether the right of having a Separate School in each *ward* would not be sufficient? They answered in the affirmative; whereupon, I wrote a draft of an act for that purpose, and they expressed their entire satisfaction with it. By request, I afterwards met the greater part of the members of the House, at an appointed time, and explained to them the position of the Separate School question, and what I thought best to be done under the circumstances. The Honorable John Ross brought into the Legislative Council the Bill of which I had prepared the draft. It soon passed both Houses, and became law. Its operations are confined to cities and towns; the very wording of it shows that it was no innovation, no concession, but a restoration of rights previously enjoyed. The title of

It is, "*An Act to restore certain rights to parties therein mentioned*;" and the whole Act is as follows:—

"Whereas it is expedient to remove doubts which have arisen in regard to certain provisions of the 19th section of an Act passed in the 13th and 14th years of Her Majesty's reign, and intitled *An Act for the better establishment of Common Schools in Upper Canada*: and whereas it is inexpedient to deprive any of the parties concerned of rights which they have enjoyed under preceding School Acts of Upper Canada; be it therefore enacted, &c., that each of the parties applying according to the provisions of the said 19th section of said Act, shall be entitled to have a separate school for each ward, or in two or more wards united, as said party or parties shall judge expedient, in each city or town in Upper Canada: Provided always, that each such school shall be subject to all the obligations and entitled to all the advantages imposed and conferred upon separate schools by the said 19th section of said Act."

37. Mr. Brown's piteous wallings on the "decline of the school system."—Its success nevertheless.

Such, Sir, is the great Act of 1851, for which you assail the Ministry of that day and "its sectarian school besiegers," and ascribe to me the most mercenary motives. It had no application to any other municipalities than cities and towns, not one of which has ever complained of it, and it was a simple restoration of rights which had been possessed under previous School Acts.

I will next consider the objects of the

separate school provisions of the Acts of 1853 and 1855, and the circumstances attending the passing of them.

In the meantime considering the provision that Parliament at the time of the Union, in 1841, thought it necessary to make for the protection of the Protestant minority in Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada, every candid reader may be appealed to, whether the legislation for Upper Canada has not been from that time to 1852, consistent, safe, just, and patriotic—doing to our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens in Upper Canada what we would wish done to our Protestant brethren in Lower Canada.

Lord Macaulay once remarked in the House of Commons, that "from childhood he had heard of nothing but decline, and witnessed nothing but progress." So, Sir, since you have sought to pervert the school system to a party purpose, you have piteously bemoaned its imminent danger and deep decline, while all others witness its growing strength and increasing prosperity, the unity of the country in its support, and the absence of all agitation against it in every county, township, city, town, and village, and even in every newspaper in Upper Canada, as far as I have seen, except Mr. McGee's scurrilous *Freeman* and your unscrupulous *Globe*.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Dec. 28, 1858.

No. IV.—Circumstances connected with the passing of the Separate School Acts of 1853 and 1855.

38. The true ground of the Separate School Law again stated.—Mr. Brown's misstatements as to the School Act of 1851 corrected.

SIR,—Having shown the justice and wisdom of the Government and Legislative proceedings in regard to the Separate School provisions of the law from 1841 to 1852; I am now to complete this part of my task, by stating the circumstances connected with the passing of the Separate School (4th) section of the Supplementary Act of 1853, and the Roman Catholic Separate School Act of 1855.

I beg it may be kept in mind by the reader, that there is no question between us as to the necessity or wisdom of Separate Schools for the Roman Catholics themselves, but of which they are the rightful judges. In my reports I expressed my opinion as to their being needless before you ever wrote of them as such in the *Globe*. You have more than once (but not since your alliance with Mr. McGee) pro-

nounced the Roman Catholic worship itself hurtful, and denounced a Roman Catholic Bishop's retaining by vested right a commuted portion of the Clergy Reserves; but would you now repeal the law by which the latter is held and the former is protected? The question then is, (not the expediency or usefulness of Separate Schools, or otherwise, for on that point we are agreed) but the consistency and justice of retaining the provisions of the law by which Roman Catholics are permitted to have them (if they please); or in other words, and more fully, the consistency, wisdom, and patriotism of securing to the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada the same educational rights as are possessed by the Protestant minority of Lower Canada. I have discussed this question, and corrected your misstatements and detected your misquotations from 1841 down to 1852; I will now expose your false and devious course to 1855.

And first, the Act of 1851. I begin by quoting your own representation of it. Addressing me you say :

"The Bill of 1851, far from ending the controversy, as you pretended it would, only gives encouragement to the claimants of Separate Schools to increase their clamor. The Seat of Government was now removed to Quebec, and Ministers were more than ever under the influence of the Roman Hierarchy. Mr. Hincks forgot his duty to the people of Upper Canada, and to save his office yielded to the threats of the separatists. At the very next session of Parliament (1858) a new Sectarian School Bill was brought in, far surpassing anything previously heard of. It greatly strengthened the Sectarian element; it authorised the election of Roman Catholic School Trustees—placed the Roman Catholic youth formally under the control of the Roman Catholic Clergy—and imposed a direct tax for the support of Roman Catholic teaching as a recognized part of the National establishment. And you, Sir, supported this Bill when under discussion, and palliated it with your pen when passed."

39. Mr. Brown's fear of the Seat of Government being in Lower Canada intended for Scotch Presbyterians; but his after agreement to fix it in Lower Canada an instalment to his new "alles," as well as his silence on the Mortara case.

In the above passage, you express great terror of the "Seat of Government at Quebec," and the "influence of the Roman Hierarchy" over "Ministers." But if "public notoriety" be an authority, you have agreed to do for ever precisely what you feign terror at being done for four years—to place the Seat of Government *permanently* out of Upper Canada and in a city where the political influence and wealth of the "Roman Hierarchy" is predominant beyond competition, present or future. Besides you have seemed very anxious to get political allies in and about Quebec from among the sons, and *par excellence*, the advocates and defenders of the "Roman Hierarchy." You clearly wrote the above paragraph, not for your "political allies" and other people at Quebec, but for Scotch Presbyterians in Upper Canada. But, Sir, you cannot serve two masters. You cannot, at the same time, serve the man of "More power to the Pope" and the liberties and people of Upper Canada. Your new "political ally" and his followers may interpret the above passage by the rule of contraries. As a needful charm to retain your old allies, Mr. McGee may allow you to use such badinage as long as you do not infringe upon his motto of "More power to the Pope!" Hence, while you are still permitted to assail me and the old Liberals of Upper Canada by such terms and allusions as disgrace the above paragraph, your alliance with Mr.

McGee and the *surveillance* of Father Bruyère will not permit you to say *one Editorial word*, or extract more than a couple of paragraphs or so (one from a French and another from an Italian paper) respecting the kidnapping of the Jew boy MORTARA by the sanction of the Pope—a deed which has shocked both Catholic and Protestant Christendom. The time was, sir, when you would have written article after article, and filled column after column, with extracts from the free press of England and the untrammelled portions of the Catholic press, on such a case. But now you are mute on the subject, because it comes in contact with Mr. McGee's motto of "More power to the Pope!"

40. Mr. Brown's Imposition on the Readers of the *Weekly Globe*.—Dishonest suppression, so that the people in the country should not know the truth.

And upon the same principle, and in the spirit of the same alliance, you advertise for your *Weekly Globe*, in large handbills, and in your columns, "The Correspondence between Dr. Ryerson and the Honorable George Brown on Separate Schools," after you had excluded my correspondence from the *Globe*, and after you had mutilated the only letter of mine you publish by emasculating it to the extent of more than one-third of its contents—suppressing upwards of an entire column of it—the whole of what relates to Popery and Catholicism, and to the recantation, confession, and profession of Mr. McGee, and my application of it to the School question; and then, as if that was not infamous enough, you misrepresent what you have suppressed, and insert the whole of your evasive and abusive reply to this suppressed third of my letter! Sir, such conduct on the part of a publisher would subject him to more than Police correction in England. And what would be thought of the pettiest publisher in Canada if he were to advertise for sale a book containing 300 pages, but mutilated to the extent of more than 100 pages of the concluding part, while he retains the last paragraph, now meaningless by the suppression of all on which it depends? Yet such, Sir, is your treatment of me, and of the farmer and rural purchasers of your *Weekly Globe*. Such is your fairness as a controversialist, and such your dignity and honesty as a man—a man too who has been elevated, and who aspires again, to the highest position in the gift of United Canada!

41. Mr. Brown's suppression, dishonesty, and selfishness.—Part payment of the Price for Power.—Has adopted the "Pious Editor's Creed."

And what, Sir, is such loud speaking silence on the Mortara case, which has thrilled all Europe and America, and what such emasculation of my letter of all that re-

lated to the same and kindred subjects, but your payment of part of the price of coveted power and a salary of £1,250 a year. And yet, Sir, in the presence of these facts (if I may again borrow your own phrase in reference to me) "you have the audacity" to charge me, and men worthier than myself with mercenary motives, with forgetting our duty to the people of Upper Canada, with yielding to the influence of the "Roman Hierarchy" and "Separatists" in Lower Canada. Your silence on priestly kidnapping, on which all freemen, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, have spoken, your suppression of more than the third part of my letter involving reference to the same subject, in the hope of avoiding exposure to your Protestant supporters and of winning over McGee's ultra-papal supporters, and your then seeking to make money by selling the correspondence thus mutilated;—I say, in looking at these facts alone, (which are only hints in comparison of what I have to say when I come to obey Mr. McGee's solemn call and exhibit the character of your and his alliance.) I am irresistibly reminded of a witty American writer's conclusion of his "Pious Editor's Creed," given in the *Free Church North British Review* for November, and which may serve as a motto for the *Globe* placed under that of Mr. McGee:—

*"In short I firmly do believe
In humbug generally;
For it's a thing I do perceive
To have a solid vally."**

42. Mr. Brown's successive Misstatements in regard to the Separate School Act of 1853 exposed.

And now, Sir, to the more matter of fact subject of this letter. The statements of your paragraph above quoted are as untrue as your allusions are fictitious and disreputable. You say the School Act of 1853 "authorized the election of Roman Catholic School Trustees." It says not a word about the election of any Trustees whatever. The preceding Acts had authorized the supporters of Separate Schools to elect Trustees, and how could they have Separate Schools at all, if they could not elect Trustees?

You say "it placed the Roman Catholic youth formally under the control of the Catholic Clergy." It says not one word on the subject, and does not even name the Roman Catholic Clergy.

You say "it imposed a direct tax for the

support of Roman Catholic teaching as a recognized part of the National establishment." It imposes not a farthing tax upon any body, and does not mention Roman Catholic teaching at all. It simply states what was held before, that the Trustees of Separate Schools are a corporation, and have the same power to levy rates upon the supporters of Separate Schools as the Trustees of Common Schools have to levy rates upon persons holding property in a School Section.

43. Causes and objects of the Separate School section of the Act of 1853 explained.

The necessity of the 4th Section of the Bill, like that of 1851, arose out of a law suit and two provisions of the School Act of 1850. One of those provisions defines the School Fund to be the Legislative School Grant apportioned to a Municipality and an equal sum raised by such Municipality—leaving the Municipality at liberty to raise any additional sum or sums and apply them as it might think proper. The other provision was that which enables the Trustees of a School Section, or of a City, or Town, or Village, to establish *Free* Schools, and provide for their support by a rate on all the property of the School Section, City, Town, or Village. In many School Sections, and in several Towns, *Free* Schools were established, including the Town of Belleville. The property of Roman Catholic supporters of Separate Schools was taxed the same as the property of all others. The Roman Catholic supporters of Separate Schools claimed a share of all the money raised by the Municipality as well as of the Legislative apportionment in proportion to the average attendance of pupils at their school as compared with that at the Common Schools; but the Board of Common School Trustees in Belleville refused to pay them any more than a share of the *legal school fund*—that is, a share, according to the average attendance of pupils, in the Legislative Grant, and a sum equal to it, raised by the Town Corporation, but not a share in any additional sum or sums raised by tax for school purposes. I was appealed to, and interpreted the law as above stated—adding that it was voluntary with any local corporation whether they would allow Separate Schools to share in all the School funds provided by local tax, or in what the Act defined as the *School Fund*. The Roman Catholic Trustees instituted legal proceedings to recover a share in the School monies to which they had contributed as ratepayers, and they failed. A new element of agitation was thus furnished to Bishop Charbonnel, who was at that time, and until 1856, making all possible

* Mr. Brown's editorial belief in "humbug generally" receives a still further exemplification in the prospectus which he still parades in the *Globe*, and by which he would have his credulous readers believe that he continues to advocate that which, by the "guarantees" spoken of by Mr. Thibaudeau on p. 25, and in a note to Letetr X., he had agreed to abandon!

efforts against the Common Schools, and to establish and extend Separate Schools, and all under the pretext of placing the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada upon the same footing with the Protestants in Lower Canada. I resisted his unjust demands and corrected his erroneous representations, while I felt it my duty to remove any just cause of complaint on the part of the Roman Catholics, and do to them as I would be done by.

The case of the Roman Catholic supporters of the separate school in Belleville, was viewed as one of hardship, (such as could not be experienced by the Protestants of Lower Canada,) and was certain to lead to one or two results, either of which would render the establishment or continuance of Free Schools impossible. The one result was giving the supporters of separate schools the right of sharing in all school monies by the municipality, as well as paid to it—which would prevent Municipal Councils from doing anything at all, as they would not be tax collectors for any religious denomination whatever. The other result was, limiting the power of local councils to collect a sum equal to the legislative apportionment, and no more—which would, of course, render free schools impossible. To avoid both of these evils—to leave Roman Catholics no ground for complaint—to afford full scope for the establishment of free schools, where the people might wish to establish them, I recommended that, on proper notice given before February, the supporters of separate schools should be exempted from paying any municipal school rates whatever, but be empowered to collect their own school rates, and examine their own teachers, and that they should be also precluded from sharing in any municipal monies, unless a municipality chose to levy and collect their school rates for them. That was the sole object and scope of the 4th Separate School Section of the School Act of 1853, which you so grossly misrepresent in the paragraph above quoted, for which you so unjustly impugn Mr. Hincks and his colleagues, who only approved and introduced into the legislature what I had felt it my duty to submit to them. The reasons I assigned for this 4th Section of the Supplementary School Act, in transmitting the draft of it to Mr. Hincks, show that it was a protection and aid to Common Schools, and not a “strengthening of the sectarian element,” much less a measure which would not have been recommended at Toronto as well as at Quebec. In my letter to Mr. Hincks, enclosing the draft of the section, dated Toronto, August

24, 1852, I stated the object and advantages of it as follows:—

“This section proposes to relieve the parents and guardians sending children to separate schools from paying any school tax whatever, and then allowing them to share with the other schools according to average attendance of the same municipality in the Legislative School Grant alone. In case such a provision were adopted. 1. There would be no provision in the school law requiring a public municipal tax for denominational schools, and all opposition and clamor against it would cease. 2. There could be no complaint from any quarter that the supporters of a separate school paid more or less than they received from the school fund. 3. All the inhabitants of a municipality, except those who might choose to send their children to a separate school, could proceed with their school interests as if no other class of persons were in existence. 4. The teachers of separate schools would be relieved from appearing before the County Board of Public Instruction for examination, and thus the last vestige of possible agitation between the supporters of separate schools and the municipal authorities, in relation to the subject at all, would be removed.” “Then the section does not, any more than the 19th section of the existing law, give the persons who petition for, and send children to the separate schools, control over all the Roman Catholics or Protestants of the municipality; but only over those of the persuasion of the separate school who choose to support it.”—(*Correspondence on Separate Schools, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, in 1855, page 21.*)

44. Tendencies and objects of the Act of 1853, the reverse of what Mr. Brown represents.

Thus the whole object and tendency of the 4th section of the Act are the very reverse of what you have stated, showing that your every statement is unfounded, your every objection groundless, and your every imputation unjust.

Since the passing of the Supplementary School Act of 1853, free schools have increased beyond all precedent, without law suits or disputes, or impediment from the supporters of Separate Schools; and not a city, or town, or village has petitioned against the Separate School provisions of the law.

I had said, “the separate schools are chiefly established in cities and towns.” This statement you declare to be “false,” since there are only 42 separate schools in cities and towns, while there are no less than 58 in the townships. But you omit to say, that while there are only 42 separate schools in cities and towns, there are only 167 common schools; that while there are 58 separate schools in townships, there are 3,564 common schools—there be-

ing thus one separate school to every *four* common schools in cities and towns, but only one separate school to every *sixty-six* common schools in townships.

I have now examined your statements and charges in regard to separate school legislation down to 1853; and I appeal to the reader, whether the very object as well as effect of the proceedings of the Government and the Legislature in passing the 19th section of the Act of 1850, and the 4th section of the Act of 1853, was not to secure, consolidate and extend the school system, and especially the system of free schools, and whether your statement to the contrary, and your imputations upon Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin, their colleagues and successors, are not as unfounded as they are vituperative.

45. Consequence of the "Globe's" refusal to insert Dr. Ryerson's replies to Mr. Brown's attacks.

Had I replied to you through the *Globe*, I should have summed up in one letter that to which I now devote three letters. Feeling myself, by your unfairness, free from the restrictions under which I should have felt it necessary to write in the *Globe*, I have felt it my duty, while refuting your statements, to state the circumstances under which this special legislation took place, as well as the character and object of it.

It remains for me, in another letter, to examine what you have said as to the con-

duct of all parties respecting separate school legislation since 1853; to state the circumstances, under which the Roman Catholic Separate School Act of 1855 was passed, the telegraphic correspondence on the subject, and the effects of it. You wax very wrathly and denounce by name Colonel Taché and Mr. J. A. Macdonald—the one for introducing and the other for permitting to be introduced for discussion, the Roman Catholic Separate School Act of 1855, as if they were designing enemies of Upper Canada. I shall show what I thought and said of the bill at the time, and what I did to get it amended; but I do not think that even the author of the bill intended a wicked thing against the people of Upper Canada; nor ought you to impute such motives to him, since, as I understand, on good authority, the author of what you regard as that infamous bill, was no other than the Hon. Mr. Drummond—Attorney General for Lower Canada in 1855, and recently in the Government with yourself—consenting to join you in a Government upon the ground, as he states in his address to the electors of Sheffield, that you agreed to "solve" the "question" of "*Separate Schools*," as well as of "*Representation*," by what he terms "the adoption of an honorable COMPROMISE."

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Dec. 31, 1858.

No. V.—The Origin and Passing of the Roman Catholic Separate School Act of 1855—Two more Literary Forgeries by Mr. Brown.

46. Mr. Brown's misstatements and calumnies.—Bishop Charbonnel's satisfaction with the School Act of 1853.—His agitation and complaints.

SIR,—Of your nine columns and a half of statements and calumnies against the men who have had to do with school government and legislation, those which you have made against Separate School legislation and its authors since 1853, appears to me the most unjust, untruthful and unscrupulous, though the most plausible to the uninformed reader. I have exposed your false quotations and your misrepresentations of the causes, nature and objects of the Separate School clauses of the Act of 1850, 1851 and 1853; I will now deal with your statements and attacks against all who have had to do with Separate School legislation and government since 1853.

Referring to the Supplementary Act of 1853, and addressing me, you say:

"And did this third concession to the claimants of Separate Schools satisfy them? Was

your oft repeated assurance realized that 'the existence of the provision for Separate Schools' in the national system prevented 'opposition and combinations which would otherwise be formed against it? 'On the contrary, the separatists only advanced in the extent of their demands, and became more resolute in enforcing them. The very next year, the matter was again brought to a crisis—a general election came on—Bishop Charbonnel pressed his demands—and Mr. Hincks consented to bring in yet another Sectarian School Act. You have told us yourself that at that interesting moment Mr. Hincks applied to you—that you told him that even 'this would not satisfy Bishop Charbonnel—but in deference to Mr. Hincks' wishes you would do the deed—*although you had expressed strong objections to it in your printed Report for 1852!* You have also told us that you drew the required Bill and placed it in Mr. Hincks' hands shortly before the overthrow of his Government. 'Your draft did not become law—but no thanks to you for that!'

In my fourth letter, I have shown that

while the Act of 1853 removed all grounds of complaint of personal hardship by supporters of Separate Schools, and thus granted what they professed to desire, it involved no "strengthening of the sectarian element," but facilitated and secured the extension of Free Schools. Bishop Charbonnel himself professed to be satisfied with the Act of 1853. So much so, that in a "*Pastoral Address on the Upper Canada Supplementary School Act of 1853*," dated Toronto, 9th July, 1853," he commenced with the following words :

"Owing to the equity of our legislature, dearly beloved brethren, the Catholic minority of Upper Canada are to enjoy, for the education of their children, the same advantages enjoyed by the Protestant minority of Lower Canada."

It is true that Bishop Charbonnel, finding that the Act of 1853 did not weaken the Public School system, but rather strengthened it, receded from his previous official acceptance of that Act, and put forth new complaints and demands. He did so through the public papers, and he did so in private letters to Hon. Mr. Hincks. The complaints were definite, but the demands were general, that the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada should be placed upon equal footing with the Protestants of Lower Canada. Apart from the accusations against me for misinterpreting the Act, the complaints were in substance three.

1. That it was a hardship for Roman Catholics to be compelled to pay for the Separate School an amount equal to what they would have to pay as a common school rate, in order to be exempted from such rate; and it was also a hardship for trustees of Separate Schools to make certain returns of children, &c., not required of Trustees of Common Schools.
2. That the Trustees of Separate Schools elected in each ward of a city or town, had to act separately as a School Corporation in each such ward, but could not unite to act as one Board in each city or town, as did the Board of Common School Trustees.
3. That the money paid to Separate Schools was apportioned and paid by the local superintendents in townships, and by the Board of Common School Trustees in each city or town; that the apportionment of it was sometimes partial; and the payment of it often delayed under various pretences, to the great inconvenience and vexation of Trustees of Separate Schools; and it was urged that as the Chief Superintendent of Education in Lower Canada apportioned and paid the school money to the trustees of dissentient schools, so should the same officer in Upper Canada apportion and pay the school monies to Separate Schools.

On the first of these complaints, I remarked that the requirement of the law was a help to Separate Schools, and therefore not a grievance; but if it was so viewed, I certainly had no wish to compel the supporters of Separate Schools to pay anything to the Separate School, much less a sum equal to their Common School tax, in order to be exempted from such tax in support of the Common Schools. As to the second complaint, there could be no objection to the Separate School Trustees of the several wards of a city or town acting together in one Board, and I had advised them they could do so without any further legislation; but to satisfy them I had no objection to a proviso being made for it by law. As to the third complaint, I believed it frivolous, as in the cases adduced to justify it, the Trustees of Separate Schools had not complied with the conditions and requirements of the law, and the Secretary of their Board in Toronto had refused to do so, and yet demanded the money otherwise payable to the Separate Schools; that I believed it was desired to place me in a position in which continued complaints could be made against me to the Government, and I be at length compelled to yield to their demands. Mr. Hincks thought otherwise, and pressed me to undertake the task of apportioning and paying the money to Separate Schools, as did the Superintendent in Lower Canada, and not leave it to the Local Superintendents and Boards of Common School Trustees.

47. Mr. Brown's misrepresentation of Mr. Hincks and Dr. Ryerson pointed out and exposed.

Now, Sir, in the paragraph of your letter above quoted, you accuse Mr. Hincks of having "consented to bring in yet another Sectarian School Act; that he had applied to me to prepare the Bill; that though I had objected to do so in 1852, I at length consented to do so in 1854, in deference to Mr. Hincks' wishes." Sir, I am now prepared to show that what you have stated is untrue, and that your pretended quotation of my words is a falsification of them,—a sixth example of literary forgeries in which I have detected you.

In the first place, I did not submit any draft of a "Sectarian School Act," nor did Mr. Hincks consent to bring one into the Legislature. I submitted a draft of a short Bill, which was passed and became the Act 18 Vic., cap. 142, entitled "*An Act to make further provision for the Grammar and Common Schools of Upper Canada*."

In connexion with the draft of that Act, I submitted separately the drafts of three clauses to remove the ground or pretext of

the three complaints above stated; and these three sections contained the *ultimatum* of what I was willing to do in regard to legislation on the subject of Separate Schools—since in the letter enclosing them, dated 6th September, 1854, I remarked as follows to Mr. Hincks:—

"I think our next step must be, if further legislation be called for, to take the sound American ground of not providing for or re-organizing Separate Schools at all. In this we should have the cordial support of nine-tenths of the people or Upper Canada; while in the course now pursued, the more you concede, the more you contravene the prevalent sentiment of the country, and the greater injury you are inflicting upon the great body of the parties for whom Separate Schools are professedly demanded, but who have not, as far as I am aware, any safe and adequate means of speaking for themselves, or even of forming a judgment."

I may ask the reader if the language thus quoted is that of sycophancy, or subserviency to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, in order to advance my personal interests? And then, as to the purport of the three clauses, transmitted on a separate sheet (accompanying the draft of Bill), the following explanatory remarks prefacing them, show their import.

"The following sections relate to Separate Schools, and without undermining our general system, provide for all that even the ultra advocates of Separate Schools *profess* to demand, and all I think the country can be induced to give." [Then follows the passage above quoted, followed by the following remarks:] "These three sections relieve the Trustees of Separate Schools from making any return or including any item in any return whatever not required of other Trustees; leave the applicants for Separate Schools to do anything or nothing, as they please; but do not permit them to make the Municipal Council their school-tax collector, nor give them the legislative school grant except in proportion to the average number of children they teach."—(*Correspondence on Separate Schools*, p. 24, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, 1855.)

Such were the last clauses of a Bill relating to Separate Schools, I ever prepared; and I leave the reader to judge whether they involved any weakening of the public school system, and whether the remarks accompanying them indicated mean submission for mercenary objects, as you assert again and again.

Your statement, therefore, that Mr. Hincks applied to me to prepare "a *Sectarian School Act*," or that he was to bring one into the Legislature, is a sheer fabrication of your own.

48. Mr. Brown's sixth false quotation detected.

Then, in the above extract from your letter, you have professed to *quote my words*, to prove that Mr. Hincks wished me to prepare a "*Sectarian School Act*,"—that I consented to do the deed, "though I had expressed my strong objections to it in my printed report for 1852." Now, Sir, you must have known that you were not only stating what was untrue, but that you were falsifying my words to prove that untruth. My words show, that what Mr. Hincks proposed to me was not "another School Act," but that *I would consent to apportion and pay the school money to Separate Schools*, and it was *that and that alone*, I consented to do in deference to his wishes. The two sentences in my letter to the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, dated 2nd April, 1855, from which you quote *only the last phrase* for your own unworthy purpose, are as follows:

[37] "Some time last summer, the late Inspector General (Hon. F. Hincks) communicated with me on the subject, and suggested to me whether I could not undertake to distribute and pay the School Grant to Separate Schools, as this would be satisfactory to the complaining parties. I expressed my conviction that [38] this would not satisfy Bishop Charbonnel—[39] that I was satisfied he had ulterior objects in view—that his object was to get a measure by which the Catholic population, AS A BODY, would be separated from the public schools, and the municipalities made tax-gatherers for the Separate Schools. [40] But in deference to Mr. Hincks' wishes, [41] and as he had done so much to aid me in my work, and to promote the Public School system, and seemed to think it would be satisfactory, I consented to undertake the task proposed [42] although I had expressed strong objections to it in my report for 1852."

The reader can see from those sentences what Mr. Hincks suggested to me, and what I consented in deference to his wishes to do, and how untrue is your statement in reference to both his conduct and mine, while you quote the last phrase of the last sentence to make me say what the two sentences together prove that I did not say! And even this is not the last nor the grossest example of your dishonest quotations I have to adduce.

49. Sir A. N. MacNab's Administration and the proceedings of the Roman Catholic Bishops.

But to return to the question of Separate School agitation and legislation. It will be seen above, that my letter enclosing a draft of a short School bill to Mr. Hincks.

and three clauses relating to Separate Schools on the mode of paying the school money to them, was dated the 8th of September, 1854. A few days after Mr. Hincks resigned office, and the Sir Allan MacNab administration was formed. In the meantime Bishop Charbonnel was most active in writing to members of the government and the Legislature, impugning me, complaining of the law, and enlisting other Roman Catholic Bishops with him. Among the extracts of correspondence that Bishop Charbonnel afterwards published, are the following, which I quote from the *Toronto Mirror*, July 18, 1856 :

"From Vicar General Cazeau to Bishop de Charbonnel.

QUEBEC, 28th Dec., 1854.

"My Lord,—It has been resolved in the Council that justice should be done to the Separate Schools. Sir Allan hastened to tell me that he had always been favorable to them; and I replied that your lordship had always relied on him."

"From the Bishop of Bytown to Bishop de Charbonnel.

BYTOWN, March 2, 1855.

"Dear Lord,—Your protestation reached me in the midst of the bush. I signed and sent it immediately to Bishop Phelan; were it lost, send me a duplicate. We ask merely and only for the law which rules Lower Canada. Go to Quebec if you can, for you are, amongst us, the most able to treat the School Question with the Government."

50. Bishop Charbonnel and Dr. Ryerson go to Quebec.—Their discussions there.—No surrender.

Bishop Charbonnel proceeded to Quebec, a few days after which I was officially telegraphed to proceed there also. I was there shown the "protestation" against the Upper Canada School Law, signed by Bishop De Charbonnel and two other Roman Catholic Bishops. It is published in the Official Correspondence on Separate Schools (pp. 34-37) with a draft of bill annexed, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, 1855. I went over the "protestation," item by item, first with the Attorney General for Upper Canada, and then with the Attorney General for Lower Canada, and showed that the statements as to the inequality of the law in regard to Separate Schools in Upper and Lower Canada were unfounded; and I examined the draft of bill, clause by clause, and maintained that it was inadmissible, and not at all in harmony with the professed objects proposed, but an invasion of the rights of the people and municipalities of Upper Canada. It was then proposed that I should meet Bishop De Charbonnel with the two Attorneys General. I did so, and

afterwards Bishop De Charbonnel and myself (by request) discussed the question alone; but after hours of discussion we were where we began. I refused to concede any more than I had proposed in the three clauses addressed to Mr. Hincks the previous September, and he refused to accept those clauses or state his demands. After several days I returned from Quebec, supposing that I had, at least, satisfied the Law Officers of the Crown of the justice of our Separate School Law as it was, and having the firm belief that no Separate School legislation would take place that session.

51. Dr. Ryerson's last letter on Separate School legislation in 1855.—Mr Brown now and then.

But that I might leave no means in my power unemployed to maintain the integrity of our School System, and that I might place on record the substance of what I had stated verbally at Quebec, I addressed, on my return to Toronto, a letter to the Hon. Attorney General Macdonald, dated Toronto, 2nd April, 1855, "on the Roman Catholic Bishops' comparative Table of Legislation on Separate Schools, and draft of a new School Bill for Upper Canada." In that letter of over seventeen printed pages, octavo, I discussed, "I.—Bishop Charbonnel's statements respecting the school laws of Upper and Lower Canada in regard to separate schools. II.—The nature of the demands made in Bishop Charbonnel's draft of bill. III. Course of proceeding which I have pursued, and which Bishop Charbonnel has pursued towards me, in respect to separate schools."—(*See Correspondence on Separate Schools, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly in 1855, pp. 38-55.*)

That letter (with the exception of the two telegrams, which I will give presently,) was the last letter I ever wrote to any member of the Government on the Separate School law. That letter you afterwards published in the *Globe*, in terms of extravagant eulogy.

Yet, in presence of these facts, you now charge me with having acted a mean and truckling part at Quebec in 1855, in order to conciliate the Roman Hierarchy, and secure personal gain. Sir, I leave your own editorial remarks of 1855, on my letter after I returned from Quebec, and embodying what I said and did there, to refute your own imputations of 1858.

52. Roman Catholic Separate School Bill of 1855 introduced.—Telegrams respecting it.—The result.

Then as to the sequel. About the middle of May, six weeks after I had returned from Quebec, a Separate School Bill was introduced by Sir E. P. Taché into the Legis-

tive Council, repealing all preceding Separate School provisions of the law, and substituting one act in place of them, including the three clauses which I had transmitted to Mr. Hincks the previous September.—That bill was professedly designed to assimilate the Separate School laws of Upper and Lower Canada, and was, upon the whole, drawn up with great fairness—imposing upon the supporters of Separate Schools several forms and requirements which had never before been imposed upon them, and simply because such forms and requirements had been imposed upon the supporters of dissentient schools in Lower Canada. But the bill contained a provision (which I had always resisted) to compel the municipalities to be tax-collectors for separate schools, and for giving separate schools an undue share of school money; and also another provision for establishing separate schools of every kind, without limit, such as would have divided the Protestant population into endless parties, and destroyed the school system. The Hon. Mr. Drummond is said to have prepared this bill, while Col. Taché introduced it into the Legislative Council—there being (as was stated) no Upper Canada member of Government in the Council.

As to the manner and instruments of preventing that bill from passing in its original form, and striking out its objectionable clauses, the following facts will show. My first intelligence of the bill was by the telegram, of which the following is a copy, addressed to me by J. W. Gamble, Esq. :

“QUEBEC, May 18, 1855.—To Dr. RYERSON.—Are you aware provisions Government Bill relation Separate Schools introduced Legislative Council? Copy mailed your address to-day.

(Signed,) J. W. GAMBLE.

To the above I replied forthwith—“I have not seen the Bill, and know nothing of it.”

On receiving a copy of the Bill, I addressed the following telegram to the Hon. Attorney General Macdonald, Quebec :

“TORONTO, May 19, 1855.—Have seen Mr. Taché's Separate School Bill. High Episcopalians alone gainers. All others losers. In 14th section, the person should be of religious persuasion of Separate School—14th section should be so worded as not to include Municipal Council Assessment.—Why not restrict 2nd section and whole Bill to Roman Catholics alone!

(Signed,) E. RYERSON.”

After further considering the Bill, I addressed the following telegram to the Hon. Attorney General Macdonald, Quebec :—

“TORONTO, May 23, 1855.—Mr. Taché's Bill amended as suggested, and confined to Catholics is harmless. Otherwise destroys school system. Any ten persons using name of any persuasion, can avoid paying all school taxes by complying with forms of Bill, and adopting, as theirs, any lady's or other school to which they send or subscribe a few shillings or pence.

(Signed,) E. RYERSON.”

To the foregoing, I received the following reply :

“QUEBEC, May 22, 1855.—To Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Toronto.—I agree with you, and will make alterations as you suggest.

(Signed,) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

You say “the worst features of the Bill of 1855 were struck out by the efforts of the Opposition.” What influence the above telegrams had in striking out the worst features of the Bill, and especially when the Attorney General afterwards amended the Bill as they suggested, the reader can easily judge.

53. School Question never made a party one except by Mr. Brown.—Who were the real friends of the Upper Canada School system in 1855.

As the School Question never was made a political party one, except in so far as you have attempted to make it so, it is of little consequence whether members of the Opposition or others prevented the Bill from passing as originally introduced. The School system of Upper Canada is equally the property of all parties, not of one party, as you have attempted to make it. But it happens, that while one of your late Lower Canada colleagues (Mr. Drummond) prepared the Bill, and another (Mr. Dorian) spoke and voted for it, the ordinary supporters of the Government were the chief opposers of the Bill. What you said or did would have little or no influence with the Government, or with the Catholic and French members of the House, as you were known to oppose them on all occasions. But they could not do otherwise than listen to the remonstrances of their own friends, and especially of members of the Church of England, which the Bill, as introduced, was adapted to conciliate and favor. But to the honor of the Church of England, and to the honor of Canada, and especially to the honor of the gentlemen themselves, the Episcopalians stood forward as a phalanx against the seductions presented to them by the provisions of the Bill as introduced. Though you may unworthily seek to claim the credit of modifying a Bill, to the clauses of which you moved not one amendment, I feel it no less my duty than pleasure to express my own gratitude, and, I believe, that of Upper Canada generally, to Messrs. Gamble, Stevenson, W. B.

Robinson, Langton, and Crawford, for the earnest and noble stand they took on that occasion as champions of the un mutilated Common School system of Upper Canada. This will appear from the account of the proceedings as given at the time by the Quebec correspondent of the *Colonist*—understood to have been J. S. Hogan, Esq.,—the present member for Grey. I have not room for the whole account, but the abridgement of it appended to this letter will be found very interesting, as picturing the scene and the principal actors in it, and as containing an excellent analysis of the Bill as introduced and as amended.

The experience of three years has shown that the Act of 1855, as amended, has not weakened or impeded the school system throughout the Province: that if 19 Separate Schools have been established during the past year, no less than 259 Common Schools have been established; and that, as I stated in my last telegram above quoted, "the Bill amended as suggested, and confined to Roman Catholics, is harmless;" or, as Mr. Langton stated in the House, on the third reading of the Bill, "a more innocent Bill could not possibly be found."

54. Mr. Bowes' Bill of 1856.—Members of Government denounced for voting against it.

After the close of that session of 1855, I left for Europe and did not return until an advanced period of the next session of the Legislature at Toronto, when I learned that Mr. Bowes had introduced a short Bill professedly to amend the 12th section of the R. C. Separate School Act of 1855, but which, in reality involved the subversion of our whole Common School system, though I do not think Mr. Bowes (and perhaps few others) had any idea of the scope and effect of the ingenious bill which had been put into his hands, as he withdrew it shortly after I pointed out to him its real character. A private member bringing in such a Bill shows that the Government would not do anything on the subject; and on my first conversations with Upper Canada members of the Government, after my return from Europe, I learned that they intended to vote against Mr. Bowes' Bill, which they afterwards did (when it was taken up by a Lower Canada member), and for doing which the Roman Catholic members of the Government and others were denounced and excommunicated by Bishop Charbonnel—who thus employed the highest power of the priesthood to control Upper Canada school legislation and government. And had it been for the "Political consequences

of the Protestant Reformation;" and had the doctrine of "more power to the Pope" prevailed, instead of that of the rights of freemen, our Canadian statesmen might have been sent to prison or the dungeons of the Inquisition, in place of being denounced by the Bishop.

55. Mr. Brown's seventh false quotation detected and his other mistatements refuted.

It now remains, in concluding this subject, to expose one of the most audacious instances of mis-statement and false quotation I have yet detected. I first give your statement and quotation in your own words, with your own italics and hands. Addressing me you say—

"And mark, as the conclusion of the whole, your matured conviction, only one year ago, of the true course for the people of Upper Canada, should the Separate School claimants persist in their demands. [33] "the true and only alternative will be to abolish the Separate School law altogether, and substitute the provisions of the national system in Ireland in relation to united secular and separate religious instruction." This was your own suggestion only last year; and because I favorably entertained the suggestion, you assail me as seeking to subvert the whole national school system for personal and political ends! I shall not permit myself to comment on such conduct from a man in your position; for I fear that I might be led to use terms that, however applicable to the case, would hardly be fitting in me to employ."

This appears very terrible; but can the reader believe, that what you utter so solemnly is wholly untrue, and what you quote so emphatically is a literary forgery? Yet I will prove both.

The words you profess to quote from me are from my report for 1855, page 11—a document dated July, 1856—*more than two years ago*, instead of "only one year ago," as you solemnly state, and for stating which your object is obvious.

In the next place, the "suggestion" which you represent me as having made, and which you have "favorably entertained," was never made by me under the circumstances which now exist, or such as have existed during the last two years.

After the failure of Mr. Bowes' Bill in the session of 1855, it was officially announced in the public papers, by Roman Catholic Episcopal authority, that that Bill would be brought up again and presented next session of Parliament. In view of that announcement and threat, I analyzed the Bill in my report for 1855, and exposed its unjust and dangerous provisions to the public, as also the course of aggression which had been pursued against the people of Upper Canada by the extreme advocates of Separate Schools. It was in

that connexion and with a view to, such threatened agitation and aggression, that I wrote the sentence, of which you quote only the conclusion, isolated from the words which preceded it and on which it depends, and wrested from the conditions explicitly stated. I will give the whole sentence of eleven lines, of which you quote only the last three. I will put the part you have omitted in black letters and between hands, that the reader may see, as well as understand, the extent and character of your mutilation. The sentence is as follows:—

“**§** But if the parties for whom Separate Schools are allowed and aided out of the Legislative School Grants, according to the average attendance of pupils (which is the principle of distributing the School Grants among the Common Schools in all the Townships of Upper Canada) shall renew the agitation upon the subject, and assail and seek to subvert the public school system, as they have done, and endeavor to force legislation upon that subject against the voice and rights of the people of Upper Canada, by votes from Lower Canada, and the highest terrors of ecclesiastical authority, then I submit that **§** the true and only alternative will be to abolish Separate Schools altogether, and substitute the provisions of the National system in Ireland in relation to united secular and separate religious instruction, and extend it to Lower as well as Upper Canada.”

56. The agitation on Separate Schools renewed by Mr. Brown and not by the Roman Catholics.

And what are the facts in regard to the conditions on which the latter part of the above sentence depends? Have the supporters of Separate Schools renewed the agitation? Have they sought to subvert the Public School System? Have they endeavored to force legislation upon the subject against the voice and rights of the people of Upper Canada, by votes from Lower Canada, and the highest terrors of ecclesiastical authority? No, Sir, you know that since my report for 1855, containing the above passage, was published, there has not been a public meeting, or petition, or motion in the Legislature by any member or representative of the Roman Catholic Church on the subject of Separate Schools—but that, on the contrary, the supporters of Separate Schools have

gone on quietly and successfully in their own work, and have left the rest of the people of Upper Canada to go on quietly and successfully in their work. Yet to these circumstances of peace and quietness you apply my words by wresting them from their legitimate connection and meaning; and you actually “have the audacity” to declare that you are acting upon my suggestion! Sir, I may well say in your own words:—“I shall not permit myself to comment on such conduct from a man in your position, for fear that I might be led to use terms that, however applicable to the case, would hardly be fitting in me to employ.”

I have now finished the historical part of the discussion in regard to Separate School legislation; and I leave the reader to judge whether I have not acted throughout in regard to Separate Schools upon the principles I expressed in 1846; whether successive Governments and Parliaments have not pursued the best course for the safety and success of our Common School system by dealing with the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada as they have dealt with the Protestants in Lower Canada; and whether your imputations upon me as having pandered to the Roman Hierarchy and acted as a mercenary tool for successive administrations, for base selfish purposes, are not as unfounded as they are heartless.

But some still more startling acts of yours, and some more prominent features of the Separate School question, and the School system generally, will appear, when, in subsequent letters, I contrast your conduct with that of other public men and successive governments in regard to the School System and myself; answer Mr. McGee's “solemn” call, and exhibit the profligate and dangerous character, in regard to school matters, of your and his alliance; and reply to your personal attacks upon myself.

In the meantime I beg the reader to bear in mind that, in this and in preceding letters, apart from my own vindication, I have detected you in seven acts of literary forgery, and in more than twice as many mis-statements.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON,

Toronto, Dec. 31, 1858.

Appendix to the Fifth Letter.

57. Abridged account of the proceedings of the Legislature in passing the Roman Catholic Separate School Bill of 1855, as given in the Quebec Correspondence of the Toronto "Colonist," in refutation of Mr. Brown's statement that the worst features of the Bill of 1855 were struck out by the efforts of the Opposition.

QUEBEC, May 22, 1855.

An extremely violent discussion is going on just now on a *Separate School Bill*, just introduced by the Ministry. It was brought up and passed in the Legislative Council, and owed its origin to Colonel Taché, the Receiver General. Mr. Gamble indignantly denounced the bill and the conduct of the Government in connection with it. Mr. Langton did the same; and even Mr. Crawford announced his uncompromising opposition to the measure. Mr. Gamble said it was a deliberate attempt to destroy the whole Common School system of Upper Canada, and that a more unjust thing had never emanated from any Government; and he regarded it as an outrage upon Upper Canada to introduce it at the heel of the session, and after nearly half the members from that Province had left. The post is closing, so I must allude to it again to-morrow.

QUEBEC, May 23, 1855.

The debate on the *Separate School Question* continued for several hours after I had closed my letter yesterday. It was marked by extreme bitterness and violence, and ended by the Government carrying the bill by a large majority—62 to 17. Mr. Gamble indignantly repudiated the bill as being utterly destructive to the Common School system of Upper Canada. Mr. Rankin also opposed it, and Mr. Robinson. (Hon. W. B.)—who, however, was absent on the division—gave it as his opinion that it would tend to the destruction of the system of education, which had been productive of great good, and which was the result of great labor and trouble. Mr. Stevenson was also of this opinion.

On the other hand, Dr. Church and Dr. Southwick—two Reformers who were supposed to be of the ultra school, supported it; whilst Mr. Dorion and Mr. Laberge—two of the ablest men of the *Rouge party*—came to the aid of the Government.

The causes of the great dissatisfaction attending this measure are twofold. First, those who oppose it allege that it will favor Roman Catholics at the expense of all others; and the second, that it affords such facilities for separate schools, as must inevitably destroy the common school system.

The public revenue, which forms the government grant to schools, is of course

levied on, and paid by the whole people, and if the Roman Catholics received according to numbers, and not in proportion to what they paid into the general fund, other denominations would have to pay for their education; other denominations, in short, would have to pay for Separate Schools they did not approve of; and help to keep up a system they absolutely abhorred. This is what the opponents of the Bill urged. Mr. Gamble, Mr. Stevenson and others reluctantly admitted the necessity of Separate Schools; but they contended, that whoever instituted them should pay for them; and should not receive, out of the public funds, more than a fair equivalent—and the same as other people received—or what they put in.

The way in which the Bill will destroy the present system, is urged to be this: Persons belonging to the Churches of England and Scotland, and other Protestants—and who are the wealthy classes—could give the notice contemplated, and thus exempt themselves from all taxation for school purposes. The large property owners in towns, and even in townships where property bears the chief burthen of the present Schools, could club together, and by setting up a Separate School, destroy not only the support of Common Schools, but take away their respectability also. These are the reasons why the opponents of the Bill look upon it with so much apprehension; nay, absolute horror!

QUEBEC, May 25, 1855.

The perplexing and irritating school question has not been brought up for a final reading. It has created an immense amount of discussion and irritation here. No question since I have witnessed Parliamentary proceedings, has caused more bitterness and misunderstanding between men who had uniformly acted together in politics and in the House. The truth is, such men as Mr. Gamble, Mr. Langton, and Mr. Stevenson are sincerely attached to the present school system of Upper Canada. They have much practical acquaintance with its working; and have taken great pains, in their own counties, to render it useful and valuable to the people. They see how the clause, allowing five persons, irrespective of their creeds or principles, to club together in a township or a neighborhood to form a separate school, will practically destroy the present combined system. Because the wealthy and aristocratic—if one may apply such a term to the people of Canada—will club together and form sepa-

rate schools for themselves, whilst the very poorest will be left to support the present system; and thus the wealthy, while separating themselves from the poor, will actually effect a saving; and the poor will be not only separated from the rich, but be deprived of the means of educating themselves. The gentlemen I have named argue with great and honest earnestness, that it would be a calamity and an injury that should not be consummated, but that it must be the inevitable effect of allowing any five or more families to avoid general taxation and to set up and support a school of their own.

It is said that the Ministry, and I believe it to be true, are most anxious to do what is right in this business. The Roman Catholics make it a part of their religious duty, to combine religions with secular education. This cannot be done in the present Common Schools in Upper Canada. And the consequence obviously is, that those people must abandon their religious convictions, or have schools of their own, or get no education at all. The first they will not do. The last an intelligent public ought not to admit. So that there seems nothing else for it, but to permit in a kindly and liberal spirit, the only system by which they can be educated agreeably to their own consciences, and without perpetual misunderstandings with the rest of the people. The system is manifestly to let them educate themselves in their own way. But whilst claiming this privilege, the rest of the people have a right to insist on their paying for their own education; and they owe it to their own pride and sense of justice, not to ask other denominations to contribute to the support of their schools. The whole matter may be simplified in this way. When Roman Catholics demand a Separate School, they should be exempted from all taxes for other people's education, and other people be exempted from all taxes for theirs. And if this principle is fairly carried out in the present Bill, I cannot see how it can be opposed upon any principle of propriety or of liberal dealings.

QUEBEC, May 26, 1855.

The chief subject of discussion and of

interest last night was the *Separate School Bill*. Reports of popular demonstrations in Toronto imparted a peculiar interest to the proceedings; and the speeches of Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald (the Attorney General West) on the subject, were among the very best of the session. Mr. Brown took the well-known ground, that these schools, where they were established, were failures; and were even inimical to the feelings and wishes of the Roman Catholics themselves. He gave a history of their origin in Upper Canada, and showed, at least he gave his sentiment for it—that the late Bishop Power—a Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto—was in favor of the Free School system, and aided in working it out; and that until Bishop Charbonnel came to Canada, the question of Separate Schools had never been mooted. Mr. Macdonald, Attorney General West, contended in an able speech, that they gave Roman Catholics but the privilege that all British subjects should enjoy, of educating their children according to their own conscientious convictions. He, however, made a much more agreeable admission to the House, which was that the *Bill had been so amended as not in any way to interfere with the present School System*. It only affords greater facilities for Roman Catholics to form Separate Schools; and allows any ten families to form such Separate School, irrespective of an appeal to the Municipal Council for liberty to do so, as is now the law. But the present Act, as amended, expressly names the Roman Catholics as the only persons who can form such Separate Schools.

Mr. Langton to-day said, that a more innocent Bill could not possibly be found.

Mr. Brown, amid a perfect hurricane of yells—on account of his having once spoke—asked to what side of the House Mr. Langton belonged, after having become reconciled to the Bill?

Mr. Langton replied, amid roars of laughter, that whatever side he belonged to, he certainly did not belong to Mr. Brown's.

The main motion for passing the Bill was agreed to.—Yeas, 46; nays, 11

No. VI.—Conduct of Public Men and successive Governments, in regard to the School System, compared with that of Mr. Brown.

SIR,—I now address myself to the agreeable task of stating the conduct of different public men, and successive govern-

ments, in regard to our School System and its Superintendent, while I must, at the same time perform the painful duty of

contrasting your conduct with theirs in that respect.

58. Difficulty of Dr. Ryerson's duties.—Mr. Brown stands alone in his system of assault upon him.

One preliminary remark is necessary. It is, that my duties in respect to the school law have been very different from those of a Judge of the County or higher Courts in regard to civil or criminal law—namely, to interpret and apply the law in litigated cases, without having anything to do as to framing it, or as to its wisdom or expediency. It has devolved upon me from the beginning, as upon persons in a similar position, in other countries, to devise the school system itself, to frame the law in order to carry that system into effect, then to expound and vindicate both the law and the system, and to prepare and provide all the forms and regulations for its administration, and that administration not by learned judges, aided by learned council, but by more than twelve thousand plain men elected as Trustees and Municipal Councillors; after which I have had to oversee its whole administration, and decide upon thousands of appeals and disputes from parties engaged in or affected by its operations. In the movement of so vast a machinery, worked by so few experienced, and by so many inexperienced hands, considerable friction might be expected; and the wonder and the gratification is, that there has been so little friction when worked by the people with so much energy and so great success. In a work so varied and difficult I have sustained delicate and important relations to the Government for the time, and to public men of different parties; and for twelve years I have been assailed and treated by no one of them in the manner in which you have assailed and treated me.

59. The honorable conduct of Messrs. Hincks, Baldwin, and Lafontaine, on School matters compared with that of Mr. Brown—The absence of courage in his system of attack.

As the result of more than a year's preliminary inquiry and investigation, I presented in 1846 my first report on a system of elementary education for Upper Canada, and a draft of Bill to give it effect. The Hon. Mr. Hincks had prepared and introduced the Act of 1843, which the Bill of 1846 was intended to supersede—retaining most of its provisions, amending others, and making many new ones. Mr. Hincks was at the time proprietor and editor of the *Montreal Pilot*;—his party had recently been defeated, and he had lost his seat at a general election; and he was no doubt chafed by a then recent discussion with me. Yet he did not permit these circumstances to influence his indolence on a Bill which

he thought was an improvement upon his own, or prompt him to assail a system for the sake of assailing me. How different his conduct from yours!

The Hon. Mr. Baldwin had not lost his seat in the Legislature, like Mr. Hincks; nor was he an editor of a paper; yet he was in the same political position; and the discussions which you now bring up, after the lapse of fourteen years, and in respect to which you charge me with having made an "onslaught on Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine," were then of only two years date. But did they, even under such circumstances, and ere my first report was laid before Parliament, make the school question a party one, or seize the opportunity to avenge themselves by assailing me in a place where I could not answer for myself, as Mr. McGee has done, and as you will doubtless do, after his example? No, Sir, they had too much honor and courage to attack a man when he could not meet them face to face, and too much Christianity and patriotism to make school legislation a foot-ball of party. Sir L. H. Lafontaine maintained that the salary of the Upper Canada Superintendent should be the same as that of the Superintendent of Lower Canada. Mr. Baldwin said—"he would confess that the (then) existing law was in some points defective; but the reason of this was that it was intended to have formed a part of a series, of which the Municipal Council was one, and the failure of which rendered the School Act (of 1843) imperfect." And in reference to the parts of the Bill submitted by me appointing County instead of Township Superintendents, and providing for a Normal School, Mr. Baldwin said, "he concurred in that part of the Bill relating to the proposed change about Township Superintendents, and the monies to be saved by it. He would like very much to have young Canadians for teachers, and he was quite satisfied with the proposed measure, although it should cost the country a great deal more."

"Mr. Merritt hoped that a larger sum than £1,500 would be appropriated for the (Normal) School." (*Mirror of Parliament* for 1846, p. 70.)

Such was the non-party and patriotic spirit in which those patriarchal reformers acted in regard to the school system, even when they were in opposition, and that under peculiarly exciting circumstances; such was their conduct towards me when the very discussions which you drag into view after a lapse of fourteen years, were then fresh in their recollection, placing them in opposition instead of in office and when

I had then rendered no appreciable official service to the cause of education. But, Sir, they were honorable and patriotic men, and scorned to descend to the acts of a man whom they brought into political existence, and who afterwards became their assailant, as he has become mine.

60. Hon. Malcolm Cameron's conduct when the *Globe* party School Bill of 1849 was set aside, as compared with that of Mr. Brown.

Then, take another example. It is that of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron. From 1846 to 1849, a host of scribblers and would-be school legislators appeared, led on by you in the *Globe*, in which during that period you ceaselessly assailed me,—maintaining that I ought to be dismissed with disgrace, and proving, from typographical errors in my first *Report on a system of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, (printed without my ever seeing the proof sheet), that I was ignorant alike of orthography and syntax, and proving also by quotations, just as honest as those in which I have recently detected you, that I had plotted a Prussian school despotism for free Canada, and that I was forcing upon the country a system in which the last spark of Canadian liberty would be extinguished, and Canadian youth would be educated as slaves. Mr. Cameron, with less knowledge of you and less experience than he has now, was astounded at these "awful disclosures" of the *Globe*, and was dazzled by the theories proposed to rid the country of the enslaving elements of my Prussian school system. Mr. Cameron was at length appointed to office; and he thought I ought to be walked out of the office. Messrs. Baldwin and Hincks (as I have understood), thought I should be judged officially for my official acts, and that, thus judged, I had done nothing worthy of death. The *Globe* party then thought that as I could not be turned out of office by direct dismissal, I might be shuffled out by legislation; and a school bill was prepared for that purpose. That bill contained many good, but more bad provisions, and worse omissions, but of which only a man who had studied the question, or rather science, of school legislation, could fully judge. Mr. Cameron was selected to submit it to his colleagues, and get it through Parliament. He executed the task with his characteristic adroitness and energy. Mr. Hincks never read the bill, and left for England before it passed. Mr. Baldwin, amid the smoking ruins of a Parliament House and national library, looked over it, and thought, from the representations given him of its popular objects, and a glance at the synopsis of its

provisions, that it might be an improvement on the then existing law, while the passing of it would gratify many of his friends. On examining the bill, I wrote down my objections to it, and laid them before the Government, and proceeded to Montreal to press them in person. I left Montreal with the expectation that the bill would be dropped, or essentially mended. Neither was done; the bill was passed in the ordinary manner of passing bills the last few hours of the Session; and within three hours of reading that the bill as law, I informed Mr. Baldwin that my office was at his disposal, for I never would administer that law.

At Mr. Baldwin's request, I stated my objections in writing, for the consideration of himself and colleagues. The result was, the abandonment of the act of 1849, and the preparation and passing of the act of 1850.

Now Mr. Cameron might naturally feel deeply at the repeal of his own act without a trial; but after he had time for further examination and reflection, and a more thorough knowledge of the nature and working of the system I was endeavoring to establish, I believe no man in Canada more sincerely rejoiced than Mr. Cameron at the repeal of the act of 1849, and no man has more cordially supported the present system, or more frankly and earnestly commended the course I have pursued. But had the Hon. Malcolm Cameron been the Hon. George Brown, what incessant hostility and unscrupulous attacks I should have encountered from him, instead of witnessing in him a friend and supporter of the school system.*

61. Mr. Brown's misstatements refuted, and the religious features of our School System exhibited in Extracts from Dr. Ryerson's Letter to Mr. Baldwin in 1849.

I give now the example of a whole Government in contrast with your own indivi-

* Mr. Cameron's avowals on the subject are frank and manly. On the occasion of his nomination for the County of Lambton, in October 1857, he thus referred to the School System and to its founder:—

"On the whole, the system had worked well, the common schools of Canada were admirable, and had attracted the commendation of the first statesmen in the United States, and even in Great Britain they proposed to imitate Canada. He was opposed to Dr. Ryerson's appointment politically, but he would say, as he had said abroad, that Canada and her children's children owed to him a debt of gratitude, as he had raised a noble structure, and opened up the way for the elevation of the people; and we saw the practical result in our own neighborhood, where girls who might have toiled a lifetime at \$5 or \$6 a month, by a few months training in the Normal School were prepared as teachers, and could earn from £40 to £50, and, in some cases, £100 a year. He was prepared to refuse all further legislation to favor sectarian schools, but would meet reasonable views to extend the system of free education; but to repeal the clause he thought it not worth the risk involved of ill-feeling and collision, which would endanger the whole machinery."

dual conduct. It is that of Messrs. Baldwin and Hincks in 1849 and 1860. It illustrates my own conduct in refutation of your oft repeated charge of my having acted the part of a mercenary sycophant; and it illustrates the conduct of a Government, in preferring to retrace its own steps in order to promote the best interests of the country, rather than adhere to a wrong measure in order to gratify resentment against an individual.

I have above stated the circumstances under which the School Act of 1849 was passed, and my objections to it before it passed, and my course of proceeding afterwards. You have, for an unworthy purpose, quoted part of a sentence from the letter which I addressed to Mr. Baldwin on that occasion. I will now quote several paragraphs from the same letter, dated 14th July, 1849. In the former part of that letter I stated the circumstances under which the Act of 1849 had passed, and the fact that my remonstrance against it had not been even read. I then stated what I considered insuperable objections to it. I will quote part of my *eighth* and *tenth* objections:—the former relating to the exclusion of ministers as school visitors—the latter relating to the exclusion from the schools, of the Bible and books containing religious instruction. If my quotations are somewhat long, the vital importance of the topics they involve, and their application to our present circumstances (as I shall show in another letter) will justify them. They are as follows:—

62. Exclusion of Ministers of Religion as School Visitors by the *Globe* Party School Bill of 1849.

"Another feature of the new Bill is, that which precludes Ministers of Religion, Magistrates, and Councillors, from acting as School visitors, a provision of the present Act to which I have heard no objection from any quarter, and from which signal benefits to the schools have already resulted. Not only is this provision retained in the School Act for Lower Canada, but Clergymen—and Clergymen alone—are there authorised to select all the school books relating to "religion and morals" for the children of their respective persuasions. As a large majority of the people in Lower Canada are Roman Catholics, the School Fund there, from the great powers given to Clergymen, is equivalent, in perhaps nine cases out of ten, to an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church for educational purposes. But in Upper Canada, where the great majority of the people and Clergy are Protestant, the provision of the present Act authorizing Clergymen to act as School Visitors (and that without any power to interfere in school regulations or books) is repealed. Under the new Bill, the Ministers of religion cannot visit the schools as a matter of

private individuals, and by the permission of the teacher at his pleasure. The repeal of the provision under which Clergymen of the several religious persuasions have acted as visitors, is, of course, a virtual condemnation of their acting in that capacity. When thus denuded by law of his official character in respect to the schools, of course no Clergyman would so far sanction his own legislative degradation as to go into a school by sufferance in an unministerial character. I am persuaded that such a change in this most important feature of our School System escaped the knowledge of the principal Members of the Government; but its character and tendency in connexion with the Protestant religion of Upper Canada, in contrast with a directly opposite provision in connexion with the Roman Catholic religion of Lower Canada, must be obvious to every reflecting person.

"To the School visiting feature of the present system I attach great importance as a means of ultimately concentrating in behalf of the schools the influence and sympathies of all religious persuasions, and the leading men of the country. The success of it, thus far, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations; the visits of clergy alone during the last year being an average of more than *five visits for each* clergyman in Upper Canada. From such a beginning what may not be anticipated in future years, when information shall become more general, and an interest in the schools more generally excited. And who can estimate the benefit, religiously, socially, educationally, and even politically, of Ministers of various religious persuasions meeting together at Quarterly School Examinations, and other occasions, on common and patriotic ground—as has been witnessed in very many instances during the last year—and becoming interested and united in the great work of advancing the education of the young."

[Then follow references and authorities in support of these views. Under the head of the *tenth* objection, the regulations of the Irish National Board, and the examples and testimonials of New England Educationists, are cited, but are omitted from the following quotation.]

63. Exclusion of the Bible from the Schools by the *Globe* Party, in the School Bill of 1849.

"10. The last feature of the new Bill on which I will remark, is that which proscribes from the Schools all books containing "controversial theological dogmas or doctrines. [Under a legal provision containing these words, the Bible has been ruled out of schools in the State of New York.] I doubt whether this provision of the Act harmonizes with the Christian feelings of Members of the Government; but it is needless to inquire what were the intentions which dictated this extraordinary provision, since the construction of an Act of Parliament depends upon the language of the Act itself, and not upon the intentions of its framers. The

kind of book containing religious truth, even every version of the Holy Scriptures themselves; for the Protestant version of them contains "theological doctrine" controverted by the Roman Catholic; and the Douay version of them contains "theological dogmas" controverted by the Protestant. The "theological doctrine" of miracles in Paley's Evidences of Christianity is "controverted" by the disciples of Hume. Several of the "theological doctrines" in Paley's Moral Philosophy are also "controverted;" and indeed there is not a single doctrine of Christianity which is not controverted by some party or other. The whole series of Irish National Readers must be proscribed as containing "controverted theological doctrines;" since, as the Commissioners state, these books are pervaded by the principles and spirit of Christianity, though free from any tincture of sectarianism.

"I think there is too little Christianity in our Schools, instead of too much; and that the united efforts of all christian men should be to introduce more, instead of excluding what little there is.

"I have not assumed it to be the duty, or even constitutional right of the Government, to *compel* any thing in respect either to religious books or religious instruction, but to *recommend* the local Trustees to do so, and to *provide powers and facilities* to enable them to do so within the wise restriction imposed by law. I have respected the rights and scruples of the Roman Catholic as well as those of the Protestant. By some I have been accused of having too friendly a feeling towards the Roman Catholics; but while I would do nothing to infringe the rights and feelings of Roman Catholics, I cannot be a party to depriving Protestants of the Text-book of their faith—the choicest patrimony bequeathed by their forefathers, and the noblest birthright of their children. It affords me pleasure to record the fact—and the circumstance shows the care and fairness with which I have acted on this subject—that before adopting the Section in the printed Forms and Regulations on the "Constitution and Government of the Schools in respect to Religious Instruction," I submitted it, among others, to the late lamented Roman Catholic Bishop Power, who, after examining it, said, [he could not approve of it upon principle, but] he would not object to it, as Roman Catholics were fully protected in their rights and views, and as he did not wish to interfere with Protestants in the fullest exercise of their rights and views.

"It will be seen that New England or Irish National School advocates of a system of mixed Schools, in contradistinction to separate and sectarian Schools, did not maintain that the Scriptures and all religious instruction should be excluded from the Schools, but that the peculiarities of sectarianism were no essential part of religious instruction in the Schools, and that the essential elements and truths and morals of Christianity could be provided for and taught without a single bitter element of

Sectarianism. The advocates of public Schools meet the advocates of sectarian Schools, not by denying the connexion between Christianity and Education, but by denying the connexion between Sectarianism — by comprehending Christianity in the system, and only rejecting sectarianism from it. The same, I think, is our safety and our duty. Be assured that no system of popular education will flourish in a country which does violence to the religious sentiments and feelings of the Churches of that country. Be assured, that every such system will droop and wither which does not take root in the Christian and patriotic sympathies of the people—which does not command the respect and confidence of the several religious persuasions, both Ministers and Laity—for these in fact make up the aggregate of the Christianity of the country. The cold calculations of unchristianized selfishness will never sustain a School System. And if you will not embrace Christianity in your School System, you will soon find that Christian persuasions will commence establishing Schools of their own; and I think they ought to do so, and I should feel that I was performing an imperative duty in urging them to do so. But if you wish to secure the co-operation of the Ministers and Members of all religious persuasions, leave out of your system the points wherein they differ, and boldly and avowedly provide facilities for the inculcation of what they hold in common and what they value most, and that is what the best interests of a country require."

64. Mr. Brown's charge of Dr. Ryerson's syco-
phancy and trucking proved to be false.

As to my own course of proceeding at such a juncture, and in view of such a law, it was expressed in the following words:—

"As it relates to myself, the new Bill on its coming into operation, leaves me but one course to pursue. The character and tendency of the Bill—whatever may have been the motive in its preparation—clearly is to compel me to relinquish office or virtually abandon principles and provisions which I have advocated as of great and vital importance, and become a party to my own personal humiliation and degradation—thus justly exposing myself to the suspicion and imputation of mean and mercenary conduct. I can readily retire from office and do much more if necessary, for the maintenance of what I believe to be vital to the moral and educational interests of my native country; but I can never knowingly be a party to my own humiliation and debasement. I regret that an unprecedented mode of legislation has been resorted to to gratify the feelings of personal envy and hostility. I regard it as a virtual vindication of myself against oft repeated allegations, that it was felt I could not be reached by the usual straight-forward administration of Government. Lately, in the English House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne stated, that Mr. Lafontaine had returned to Canada, and boldly challenged inquiry into any of the allegations against him in reference to past years.

I have repeatedly done the same. No such inquiry has been granted or instituted. Yet I am not only pursued by base calumnies of certain persons and papers (alluding to the *Globe*, and one or two other papers), professing to support and enjoy the confidence of the Government, but legislation is resorted to, and new provisions introduced at the last hour of the Session, to deal out upon me the long meditated blows of unscrupulous envy and animosity. But I deeply regret that the blows, which will fall comparatively light upon me, will fall with much greater weight, and more serious consequences upon the youth of the land, and its future moral and educational interests.

"On the minor details of a law, no one is disposed to lay less stress than myself. On such ground I should not feel myself justified in not laboring to give efficiency to a measure. Acting, as I hope I do, upon Christian and public grounds, I should not feel myself justified in withdrawing from a work in consequence of personal discourtesy and ill-treatment, or a reduction of means of support and usefulness. But when I see the fruits of four years' anxious labors, in a single blast scattered to the winds, and have no satisfactory ground of hope that such will not be the fate of another four years' labor; when I see the foundations of great principles, which, after extensive enquiry and long deliberation, I have endeavored to lay, torn up and thrown aside as worthless rubbish; when I see myself deprived of the protection and advantage of the application of the principle of responsible government as applied to every other head of a Department, and made the subordinate agent of a Board which I have originated, and the members of which I have had the honor to recommend for appointment; when I see myself officially severed from a Normal School Institution which I have devised, and every feature and detail of which are universally commended even to the individual capacities of the Masters whom I have sought out and recommended; when I see myself placed in a position, to an entirely novel system of education at large, in which I can either burrow in inactivity or labor with little hope of success; when I find myself placed in such circumstances, I cannot hesitate as to the course of duty, as well as the obligations of honor and self-respect.

"It is neither my right nor my wish to presume to dictate to the Government as to its measures or proceedings. But I think it is my right, and only frank and respectful on the earliest occasion, to state in respect to my own humble labors, whether I can serve on terms and principles and conditions so different from those under which I have, up to the present time, acted; though I cannot, without deep regret and emotion, contemplate the loss of so much time and labor, and find myself impelled to abandon a work on which I had set my heart, and to qualify myself for which I have devoted four of the most matured years of my life. All that I have desired of the Government is that which I respectfully suggested in the first remark

of my communication of the 12th of May last namely, that before demolishing the present Common School system of Upper Canada, the Government would inquire into its character, working, and results, by a Commission or otherwise, and hear the statements and opinions of different men and parties of much experience and varied information on the subject. The reasons why the spirit which originated the new Bill dreaded the light of such investigation are quite obvious. But if the inconvenience of the people and the Common school interests of the country are not worth so much attention and trouble on the part of the Government, I grieve for the educational future of Upper Canada. Had the Government thought proper to institute such an inquiry, either before or during the last Session of the Legislature; or had it seen fit (seeing that it declined adopting the short Bill submitted by me), to defer legislation altogether on the subject until the next Session, as the present School Act could be administered for six or nine months under the new Municipal system as well as under the present, and in the mean time have instituted an inquiry into the principles and working of the present School Law and the changes necessary to amend and perfect it, I believe the result would have been as honorable and gratifying to the Government as beneficial to the country.

"Having now fulfilled my promise—to communicate to you, in writing, my views on this important and extensive subject—I leave the whole question in your hands.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed,) "E. RYERSON."

"The Honorable Robert Baldwin,
Attorney General, West, Montreal."

65. The conduct of Mr. Brown and other parties towards Dr. Ryerson contrasted.

Now, Sir, among your various charges you have accused me, in different forms, of acting a truckling and unprincipled part towards members of Government from 1846 to 1850, for my own selfish and venal purposes. On one occasion last year, in a Committee room, you addressed the Hon. Mr. Cayley with the words, "Now who told the lie?" I will not address the same words to you on this occasion; but I leave the reader to form his own opinion of your statements, and the spirit of them, after reading the above quotations of what I both said and did in regard to members of Government between 1846 and 1850.

The reader will, I think, admit that the words above quoted, though courteous, are plain spoken, and are not the language of flattery or compromise. But did Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues (who were known to be at that time not personally friendly to me) denounce me for expressing my convictions, and speaking as a freeman? I placed my office at their disposal and my

reasons for doing so ; they had me in their power. With your casuistry and pretensions, they would have dismissed me upon the ground of "audacity" and "insult," and they had a fine opportunity to make the School system a tool of their party. But, Sir, they felt that, as public men, and advisers of the Crown, they had other duties to perform than to gratify individual revenge, or abuse a system of education to the purposes of individual or party intrigue. They felt that it was not incompatible with their duty to weigh my objections to their Bill, instead of denouncing me, as you have done, for embodying in my official report the expression of my own convictions, and information from official sources of the utmost importance to the Government and the country, in regard to what affects the very life and soul of our School system. Instead of abusing and proscribing me for what you would call my "audacity," they examined my facts and reasonings, and were at length convinced that, for once at least, I was in the right, and that they had made a mistake ; and valuing truth and justice, and the well-being of their country more than the indulgence of personal resentment, or obstinate persistence in wrong, under the pretext of consistency, they felt that it was not beneath the dignity of a Government to retrace a wrong step, or unworthy of a Legislature to repeal a bad act ; and the country has had abundant reason to honor and bless them for the deed. But, had a George Brown and D'Arcy McGee been in the place of Robert Baldwin and Francis Hincks, how would our Educational system have been denuded of its most sacred attributes, and debased into a creature of party.

The conduct of Mr. Hincks from 1850 to 1854 in regard to the school system, and his recognition of my right to express an opinion and offer suggestions on school matters, are sufficiently shown in preceding letters, and nobly contrast with the partizanship and tyranny of your conduct in making the school system a question of political party "compromise," and assailing me for saying a word which might not accord with the objects of your McGee alliance for that purpose.

Then, look at the conduct of Sir Allan MacNab's Administration in 1855. Before deciding any thing in respect to Separate School legislation, they summoned me to Quebec, and heard all I had to say or write on the subject, and against the measure submitted to them by three Roman Catholic Bishops. The Government then, in the exercise of its undoubted discretion, permitted the bringing in of a Separate School Bill—a Bill fair and just in its

general provisions, but highly objectionable in certain clauses, the full effect of which could only be realized by men practically acquainted with the working of our school system. On seeing that Bill, I exercised the liberty of suggesting amendments, and, at length, said, that the Bill, if passed as introduced, would destroy our school system. That was hardly the language of venal sycophancy, and was quite as strong in regard to a Government Separate School Bill, as any I have employed in regard to your McGee Separate School "compromise." But did the Government proscribe or censure me for employing such language, and interposing such an obstacle to their using the school system (had they been so disposed) to cement an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, as you have sought through Mr. McGee, and have given such good satisfaction in performing the newspaper part of your contract, that Vicar General Bruyère himself is contented—withdrawing his subscription from *The Leader* because, as he said "it is generally believed to be adopting the former [not present] course of the *Globe*." No, Sir, the Government of 1855, though they had a majority of more than four to one in favor of the Bill as introduced, listened to what I and others had to say against it, and adopted my suggestions for its amendment, and the school system was then saved from being destroyed, or becoming the tool of political party.

66. Mr. Brown alone, of all other public men, denies to Dr. Byerson the right of free thought and free speech, and makes the School System a party question.

Thus, Sir, have the chief public men and successive governments from 1845 to 1856 pursued a widely different course from you in regard to our School System and its Superintendent. They have one and all recognized in me liberty of expression, as well as of opinion, which you have denied to me in the most offensive manner. They protected and aided me to establish the school system from 1846 to 1850, while you, in the *Globe*, held it up as a Prussian despotism, and calumniated me with all your recent bitterness, and more than your recent raciness and wit. They aided in passing a law by which free schools could be established ; but during the first years that I recommended free Schools, you denounced them as "pauper schools," and succeeded in largely inflaming the public mind, especially of Toronto, against them, though you afterwards changed your tactics. They protected and aided the School system in its infancy and weakness ; you assailed and sought to strangle it then, and only advocated it when it became so strong as to be an auxiliary rather than a dependent. They

have disclaimed using the School system for electioneering purposes; you have used it for these purposes, representing your opponents as its enemies, and yourself and friends as its champions.* They have regarded the School system as a non-political interest of national philanthropy, and held it to be too sacred in its character and too universal in its objects to be made the instrument of party government or power; you, having found it a talismanic watchword in a county election contest, have sought to grasp and wield it as an instrument of governmental power.

67. School Systems in England and Ireland separated from Political Parties, as has also hitherto been the case in Upper Canada.

In England, the system of elementary instruction is wholly separated from political parties by having a non-political Committee of the Privy Council and a paid resident Secretary or Manager with two assistant secretaries and forty-seven clerks; in Ireland it is the same non-political system, being managed by a paid resident Commissioner and Secretaries, and an unpaid board. In Upper Canada, the same non-political course has been pursued. Mr. Baldwin nobly exemplified it when in opposition in 1846, and when in power in 1850, and by no class of leading men in Upper Canada has that example been more cordially and generally followed, than by Mr. Baldwin's political friends and admirers. Nay, I have yet to learn that any member (except Mr. McGee) on your own side of the House has sympathized with you in your personal attacks upon me, any more than in your former attacks upon Mr. Baldwin; much less do I believe you will have followers in your attempt to denationalize our school system by converting it into a shibboleth of party, and by forcing an alliance which I will examine and illustrate in my next letter.

I have, &c.

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Jan. 11, 1859.

68. A fresh instance of Mr. Brown's unfairness and disingenuousness in the insertion of a reply to a petty diversion of his from the main argument.

P. S.—A fresh instance of your unfair-

ness and disingenuousness towards me, and towards your readers, may here be noticed. Early last week you announced a damaging exposure of my disregard of facts in my Special Report, and told your readers to look out for it next day. The next day was inserted in the *Globe* a copy of a pamphlet, by Mr. G. A. Barber, with two accompanying letters, not only endorsing Mr. Barber's statements but referring to them as containing conclusive proof of my stating anything that would promote my purposes, however untrue. The next day (Thursday, the 6th instant,) I enclosed to the editor of the *Globe*, with an introductory letter, a Memorandum from the Head Master of the Normal School, and a letter from Mr. Cumberland (Chairman of the Committee of Management of the City Schools,) not only refuting Mr. Barber's statement, but more than justifying the allusions of my special report which had been impugned.—In a private note to the editor of the *Globe*, I expressed a hope that, in all fairness, he would insert, next day, my reply to the documents which appeared in the *Globe* the day before. A few hours afterwards, I addressed to the *Colonist* and *The Leader*, copies of my letter to the *Globe*, of Mr. Robertson's and Mr. Cumberland's statements, as the pamphlet to which they referred had been widely circulated. The *Globe* has not, to this day, acknowledged the receipt of any answer to the attacks which he had inserted and endorsed; but the day before yesterday, he professes to copy it from *The Leader*,—thereby conveying the impression to his readers, that it had never been sent to him, and that he, from pure generosity to me, had copied it from *The Leader*. I doubt whether the conductor of any other paper in Canada would descend to such pitiful conduct. And then you say, that I did not deny that of which I furnished a complete refutation! A man is much to be pitied who is capable of such proceedings, and who is reduced to the necessity of resorting to them in order to deceive his readers and escape exposure.

E. R.

No. VII.—The Brown-McGee alliance, in relation to the School System of U. C.—The McGee challenge accepted—Ten Extracts from McGee's Speeches.

69. Mr. Brown's charge of "Political allies" in school matters—Dr. Ryerson's retort.

SIR—I have now to exhibit the character of your McGee alliance in relation to the

school system of Upper Canada.—In your first gratuitous attack (which gave rise to this discussion) you not only charged me with falsehood in my allusion to separate

* For a striking instance of this *before* the McGee alliance was formed, and *before* the "guarantee" separate Schools were given to Mr. Thibaudeau, see note on page 25.

schools, in my annual report, but with defending the present School system, on account of my "political allies in the government."—While I denied having "political allies" in any more than out of the government, I retorted your charge by remarking, "Yet, marvellous to say, while you charge me with the imaginary crime of having 'political allies' in the present government, you have united yourself as a 'political ally' with an avowed Papist, as distinguished from a Catholic by the *London Times*," [see page 13.] I quoted from Mr. McGee's own words, his confession of former political errors, and his profession of political faith, he declaring *politically* that "English," "Protestant," and "Puritan" ideas are "dangerous," that the Protestant Reformation was a "German Rebellion," and that "instead of *limiting* or begrudging the authority of our great leader, we should keep as a motto, ever before our eyes, and those of our children, this short sentence—"*More power to the Pope.*" And then, to show that it was not in reference to one priesthood alone that such doctrine was to be dreaded, I said, (speaking of course politically,) "If an Episcopalian were to avow as his motto 'more power to the Bishop,' a Presbyterian 'more power to the Synod,' or a Methodist 'more power to the Conference,' how soon would a man avowing such sentiments be hustled from public life by the indignant voice of all classes of the community. And is a man who avows as his 'life's motto' 'more power to the Pope,' to be supported by all classes of the community, as you recommend?"

70. Mr. Brown ashamed of Mr. McGee's political confession of faith.—The *Globe's* new moral philosophy.—Mr. McGee's appeal to Mr. Brown's men of "broad Protestant principles."

Such, Sir, was your charge upon me, as to "political allies," and such was my retort. Was it not just? You do not pretend to deny that Mr. McGee is your "political ally," or that you have recommended him to the confidence of the people of Upper Canada. No! you denounce me for not hailing him as an "ally" to "put an end to separate schools." You do not deny that such are his political sentiments. You are certainly ashamed of them, and say editorially, "What Mr. McGee may have said in New York, or elsewhere, in past years, matters little. He is now the representative of the first city in British America—and what he says in that capacity is what concerns us." According to this new *Globe* moral philosophy, a man may advocate infidelity, or polygamy, or murder in New York, or may be of an association there to send emissaries and arms to raise a new rebellion in Ireland, yet may be a

patriot in Canada, and the best "representative of the first city in British America."*

But does Mr. McGee himself say that such was his doctrine in New York in past years, but that he has left it behind, as he professed to have left there his avowed democracy and hatred of British rule, when he came to Canada? No, the *Globe's* political code of morals that a distance of 400 miles makes the difference of the Antipodes in a political confession of faith, savours too much of "audacity," as well as of absurdity, for Mr. McGee himself to adopt as a refuge: he, therefore, thinks it best to appeal to the generosity of those whom he has been informed are men of "broad Protestant principles," to receive him as he is, with his "more power to the Pope," and all. Hence in his letter published in the *Globe* of the 31st December, in reference to my quotations of his repentance, recantation, and new confession of faith, Mr. McGee says, (and this is all he says on the subject,) "I know well that the great bulk of the Reformers of the Upper Province are staunch Protestants, but I have not the least apprehension that they will expect me to conform my *political* conduct to their *religious standards*; my Catholic friends and myself are, I trust, equally in earnest in our professions of religion, and in our desire to do justice—full justice, and no more—to all our public men, irrespective of our inevitable religious divisions."

71. Mr. McGee's assurance, and his contempt for the Protestant Reformers of Upper Canada—Burke on men of "broad" principles.

These words indicate great faith and assurance, as well as great contempt for the religious principles of Protestant Reformers. Mr. McGee, speaking of the "political causes and consequences of the Protestant Reformation," pronounces "Protestant" and English ideas as "dangerous," calls the

* Mr. Brown's opinions of Mr. McGee, before and after the alliance, are very remarkable and very instructive. Here they are.—*Before* the alliance, the *Globe* said, "Our readers have now to be introduced to Mr. D'Arcy McGee . . . a fierce supporter of the Papacy. Mr. T. D. McGee has come out just now in an entirely new character, and if anything could reduce the present Ministry to a lower level in public estimation than they now hold, it is the insolent tone this person has been compelled to assume towards it and the subserviency they have been obliged to indulge in." *After* the alliance, and on the 16th Dec., 1858, the *Globe* eulogy of McGee knows no bounds. He says: "By his eloquence and sagacity and *liberality of sentiment*—[Even after his recantation of all "liberality of sentiment" in New York and in the House of Assembly!—]—he has already established a wide-spread influence over the country, among Protestants [that was a fatal influence over you, Mr. Brown!] as well as among his own religionists—and if he shall continue in the path he has heretofore followed, and earnestly strives for the amicable settlement, on just and comprehensive grounds, of the sectarian and sectional questions that now distract the country, he will win for himself a name which fifty Ex-ertons Ryersons could never tarnish by their malice!"

Protestant Reformation a "German Rebellion," and declares his motto to be "more power to the Pope;" and then coolly tells the staunch Protestant Reformers of the Upper Province, "that they must not expect him to 'conform his political conduct to their religious standards,'"—which of course implies that they must conform their religious standards to his political conduct; and then Mr. McGee and his Catholic friends will desire to do full justice and no more to our public men. Marvellous condescension and liberality!

Mr. Burke is said to have remarked, in reference to the professed principles of a rival candidate at Bristol, that "the gentleman's principles were like a Dutchman's breeches, large enough for any body." But I doubt whether the principles of the Upper Canadian Protestants, to whom Mr. McGee appeals, are large or broad enough to embrace the creed of his political conduct, though you swallow it with avidity, and reproach me for not doing the same, when you say, addressing me, "had you in reality the anxious desire for the success of the school system of Upper Canada, that you profess, you would heartily rejoice to see a gentleman of Mr. McGee's ability and influence with the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada, candidly admitting the great difficulties of the school system, and joining with the men in the Assembly who have always advocated mixed schools, to find, if possible, some mode satisfactory to Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, of putting an end to separate schools."

Now, Sir, you have the assurance to utter these words, when you know that the last act of Mr. McGee in the Assembly, in reference to separate schools, was not only to vote for their continuance, but, (as I shall presently show,) to advocate them as the inalienable right of Catholic parents, to denounce the very *association* of mixed schools, and to declare that sending a Catholic child to them, and hoping to preserve his morals, was like throwing him into Lake Ontario to see whether he would rise and float.

72. Boast of drawing Mr. Brown's Protestant teeth—O'Connell's "eloquent fools"—McGee's eloquent poetry and foolish challenge—Rival of M. Trissotin.

It is said to be the boast in some Roman Catholic circles in Montreal, "that Mr. Dorion, by his masterly diplomacy, has drawn George Brown's protestant teeth, so that he can't bite the Catholic Church any more." Your above wholesale adoption of Mr. McGee, after his avowed creed in politics, and his avowed sentiments on separate schools, shows that he has extracted from you the last remains of your protestant self-respect, as well as consistency, under

the blinding, absorbing passion for power and its emoluments.

The late Daniel O'Connell once said, in reference to an association of which Mr. McGee was one of the principal revolving lights, who advocated the sword and the musket instead of the rostrum and the press as the instruments of Irish independence, and who, by their attacks, embittered the last years of the great orator, as you, by your attacks, have shaded the last years of Mr. Baldwin—the veteran patriot said, in reference to those advocates of rebellion and assassination, that "they were the most eloquent fools he ever knew." I do not find an illustration of eloquence in Mr. McGee's challenging letter to myself; folly seems to be its predominant element. His eloquence seems to have been expended for the time being upon his new book of poetry, which you assure the readers of the *Globe* is worth more than thirty-seven and a half cents—that it is even cheap at fifty cents. I find in the book what is omitted in the letter, when Mr. McGee says—

"I've a wife—my whole love bought her,
And a little prattling daughter,
With eyes blue as ocean water,
God be praised!"

"I've been no base self-seeker:
With the mildest I am meeker;
I have made no brother weaker,
God be praised!"

The devotion of these lines is only surpassed by their eloquence, their wisdom and their humility. Surely half dollars must flow in without number for the purchase of such gems of poetic genius, surpassing Milton in sublimity, and Pope in elegance, and Moore in pathos, celebrating such wonders of nature and of history, and especially the phenomena, that Mr. McGee has been no base self-seeker, that with the mildest he is meeker, and has made no brother weaker. (? Mr. Brown.)

I have seen nothing like these lines in the English language, only six lines approaching them in French—namely, the following Parnassian coruscation from Monsieur Trissotin, in Molière's *Femmes Savantes*:

"Et quand tu vois ce beau carrosse
Ou tant d'or se relève en bosse
Qu'il étonne tout le pays,
Et fait pompeusement triompher ma Lais
Ne dis plus qu'il est amaranthe
Dis plutôt qu'il est de ma rente."

73. Difference between McGee and the Pharisee.

The two poets seem to be on a par in the absence of all egotism, while Mr. McGee is evidently more devout and sentimental than Monsieur Trissotin, less of a self-seeker, and considerably meeker. Mr. McGee excels even the Pharisee in his devout thankfulness. The Pharisee only thanked God that he was "not as other men," but

Mr. McGee praises God that he is a great deal better than other men; that not only is he no "extortioner and unjust," but he has never been so—has never been even a base self-seeker, nor even made any brother weaker, and that with the mildest he is meekest still. No wonder you were attracted on the first possible occasion, to embrace Mr. McGee as your political ally; and it must have been your corresponding negative virtues that attracted him to embrace you—there always being a positive and negative in reciprocal attraction; in the case of you and Mr. McGee there being the positive of "more power to the Pope" on one side, and the negative of "down with the Pope" on the other.

74. Messrs. Brown and McGee's misstatements in regard to Dr. Ryerson's "general" attack, a mere cry for help—This discussion a controversy with Messrs. Brown and McGee alone.

But I must return to Mr. McGee's letter. He speaks of my "general attack upon the *Globe* and the Opposition members of the House of Assembly," though he knew when he wrote this that my letter was a reply to your attacks in the *Globe*, and that it would never have appeared had not those attacks been made—that I did not even allude to any party in the Assembly, or member of it, except Mr. McGee himself, and that not in the way of personal attack, but in simple illustration of his political profession of faith, in consequence of you and he having become "political allies," to "put an end to Separate Schools."

Then Mr. McGee speaks of my reply to you as "foreshadowing the Ministerial policy for the next session," and that from a controversy between you and myself, originated by you, and of which the Ministry could have no more knowledge than the Opposition, and no more to do with it.—The attempt to make this discussion a contest of political parties, instead of a controversy between you and me, is quite worthy of you and Mr. McGee; it is the confession of your weakness; it is a signal of distress; a cry to your party not to leave you single-handed in a quarrel commenced by yourself without their advice, for which not one of them is responsible, and into which, I dare say, they will not be dragged by your entreaties. If you commence a quarrel without consulting them, they will doubtless leave you to fight it out without their assistance.

75. Mr. McGee's solemn appeal responded to—Proof of his "declaration" as to what our School system ought and ought not to be.

I will now answer Mr. McGee's call. I had objected to him as a Lower Canada member interfering with the School affairs of Upper Canada—an objection which you

have yourself made for several years against the Lower Canada members.* I said: "I should not have mentioned Mr. McGee's name, or made any allusion to him, had he not on different occasions declared what should and should not be, in regard to changing our school system!" Mr. McGee says: "I hereby call publicly on the Rev. Egerton Ryerson to produce a single one of these 'declarations' which he asserts were made on these 'different occasions.'"
In answering Mr. McGee's call, I will confine myself to two occasions—the one his speech delivered in London, as reported in the papers—the other his speech delivered in the House of Assembly, as reported by himself, and published in the *Canadian Freeman and True Witness*, BUT NOT IN THE *GLOBE*! Some time in September, Mr. McGee made a speech in London in which, in order to woo his Protestant auditors to his alliance, he uttered vague generalities about a system of national education, yet was careful to cover the whole ground of separate schools, which he had declared a few weeks before (but not to his London audience), to be the inalienable right, sacred duty, and only safety of Catholics, and to promote which is clearly the sole object he has in view in any Parliamentary inquiry, as will appear hereafter. From Mr. McGee's speech, I quote the following passage:

"I do say, for myself, that I should desire to see the whole subject of education in Canada made matter of study with our statesmen—made matter of special Parliamentary enquiry, with a view to adopting such a system as the Province can sustain out of the public treasury, without injustice to any class of the tax-payers or complaint from any class of parents. For one, I promise you that I will devote my best energies to assist such enquiry, and I will hail with pleasure the success of the attempt. But if, gentlemen, such a national system should be by any misfortune delayed, or defeated, or rejected, on fair and full examination by the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada, or the Protestant minority in Lower Canada, I should undoubtedly contend for the preservation and maintenance both for Protestant and Catholic, of those separate schools to which alone they could then conscientiously send their children. I desire a national system, if it is possible; I am anxious to do my utmost to

* In Mr. Brown's own speech to the Electors of Toronto, as reported in the *Globe* of the 15th Dec. 1857, he says:—"The questions now before the people of Toronto, and in fact before the whole body of electors throughout the Province, are whether Upper Canada shall be ruled by Lower Canada—(cries of No, no,)—whether the people of Upper Canada are to be kept in a state of degradation and subservience to Lower Canada—whether Upper Canada is to pay £3 8s. 9d. for every £1 which Lower Canada contributes—whether sectarian schools are to be forced upon us contrary to the desire of Upper Canada, and according to the wishes of Bishop Charbonnel and the Roman Clergy generally. (Cheers.)"

make it possible ; but, in the meantime, the right of the parental authority, both east and west, must be assuredly respected. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Now, I think you yourself will admit that in the above quotation, Mr. McGee declares very plainly what should and what should not be in regard to changing our school system. The only class of complaining tax-payers have been Roman Catholic supporters of separate schools, and they have been exempted from the payment of all public school taxes ; and in my report for 1852, and repeatedly since, I have suggested the investigation of their complaints by a Commission or Committee of the Legislative Assembly.

76. Mr. McGee's avowal of Separate Schools as a "sacred principle," and an "inherent and natural right" which no law can take away.

Let us now see whether Mr. McGee has not said on another occasion what should and what should not be in regard to changing our school system. Let us also see whether Bishop Charbonnel himself has ever expressed greater horror of mixed schools than Mr. McGee, and whether therefore the alliance between you and him, with your and his professed views on separate schools, is not at the expense of all principle on the one side or the other, if not on both sides, and is not a deception upon the people of Upper Canada so far as concerns the abolition of separate schools. On the 23rd of June, a few weeks before your coalition with him was consummated, he delivered a speech in the House of Assembly on the separate School question, and afterwards reported it himself. You must have heard the speech, but you did not publish his report of it in the *Globe*. Indeed you suppressed your own speech on that occasion, as it is said to have contained concessions in view of the McGee alliance, at variance with your previous professions, and which you wished to conceal from your readers. Mr. McGee says :—

“I admit what the hon. mover has stated to be correct : that the Catholics are not here by petition. But why are they not here ? Because, as I have learned in conversation with such of my co-religionists as I have met since the beginning of the Session—because they do not believe that there is the least probability that the present partial recognition of their right to separate schools could be withdrawn by this House ; because they do not believe any government possible in Canada which would deny them the free exercise of that right ; therefore they have not needlessly petitioned. (Hear.) Not that they attach any importance to the paltry sum of £1,000 which was last year their share of the school tax—£1,000 for

cause that insignificant sum stands for a *sacred principle*, they are all interested that it shall not be withdrawn, as a direct denial of the principle. For my part I will not put the maintenance of their claims on the low ground assumed by the Government—the ground of the smallness of the amount, and the harmlessness of 100 ‘separate’ competing with 3,700 ‘common’ schools ; but I put it on the high ground of *inherent right—of natural right which no law can take away*, and on that ground I will endeavor to show to this House the *rationale* of Roman Catholic hostility to the pretensions of the State—the political power for the time being, assuming to itself the place and office of teacher of all the youth born under it ; for we object to the State, not as a patron or inspector of schools, but as the author and administrator of a privileged establishment of education.”—(*Montreal “True Witness,” 2nd July.*)

It will be seen by the above extract that Mr. McGee places separate schools upon the ground of “*sacred principle*,” of “*inherent right*,” of “*natural right which no law can take away*,” and declares “*no government possible in Canada, which would deny to Catholics the free exercise of that right.*”

77. Falsity of Mr. McGee's statement—Testimony of eminent Americans against him—His first suggestion of Irish school importation.

I will not stop to show the utter falsity of Mr. McGee's statement, in his speech, that “the common school system of Upper Canada is a certified copy of that of Massachusetts and of others of the States,” nor of his groundless statement that “seven-tenths of the children of the more prosperous natives (in New England) are themselves educated at academies and private schools.” In contradiction of this statement I could produce the example of the Laurences of Boston, the testimony and example of such men as Daniel Webster, the historian Bancroft, ex-Governor Banks, Edward Everett, &c. ; but it is needless and aside from the subject of this discussion.* The only feature of our school system approaching the Massachusetts system is that of free schools. In Upper Canada each school municipality has the *right* of establishing a free school if it pleases ; in Massachusetts each school municipality is *compelled* to do so, under the penalty of a fine.

The next extract from Mr. McGee's speech is as follows :

“Sir, at the last census the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada were 167,000 souls—the second denomination in point of numbers, and one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole population. They are now probably 200,000 souls,

* Conclusive evidence on this subject, from the distinguished Americans named will be found in the

and it is most important that this House should not misjudge the grounds of *opposition assumed by so numerous a body towards State education.* (Hear.) It has been asserted that this opposition comes solely from the priesthood, and is not shared in by the laity. That is a total mistake, so far as I can judge. I believe, indeed I know, that nine-tenths of the laity are opposed, and will be opposed, to the common school, *system, unless some such modifications could be introduced into it as exist in the National system in Ireland.* There the priest is always the visitor, and usually the *patron of the school*, and two afternoons in the week are set apart for religious instruction. (Hear, hear.) This is in accordance with the primary idea of education existing in the Catholic mind." *See*—[*Ibid.*]

Now, the above extract contains the first suggestion by any member of the Legislature for modifying our school system upon that of Ireland. Mr. McGee is the father of the scheme; your alliance with him is the first step towards its accomplishment. And what is this object? Is it to do away with separate schools? No, it is the very reverse. So much so, that one express object is to make the priest the "*Patron*" of the school, or, in other words, to give "*More power to the Pope.*" That the Priest is not the "*Patron*" of the school is one objection which Mr. McGee intimates against our Canadian school system, and to change that feature of our system is the primary idea which presents itself to his "*Catholic mind,*" and slips from his tongue in the proposed importation from Ireland. And yet this is your "*political ally,*" for the pretended object of "*putting an end to separate schools.*" Yet, Mr. McGee denies that he ever said what should or what should not be in regard to changing our school system!

78. Mr. McGee's foolish misrepresentations—Denial of parental right—Bishop Charbonnel's Lent Pastoral of 1856.

But let us hear Mr. McGee again. He says:

"The skilful but sophisticated *litterateur* who has so long presided over the Department of Education in Upper Canada has never once met the question on the merits—he has never dealt with it as an inalienable prerogative and duty of parentage—but he has artfully raised a false controversial issue, and attempted to make it a Protestant and Catholic controversy. It is, in fact, a question whether the Christian family is to be permitted its free development in Western Canada, or whether the political power is to stand in *loco parentis* to all children under age. For whom does the common school teacher really represent in in our system? Not the parent but the Act of Parliament that creates his office and defines his district. He is the creature of the political power, and though he may consult, and may

co-operate with the parents of the pupils, he is not bound to do so; he is independent of them; he is not answerable to them; he must not distinguish between them or between their children!"—[*Ibid.*]

The above quotation contains as much of bold and silly falsehood as could well be squeezed into the same space. In the first place, I have based our School system upon the ground of both parental and filial right, and illustrated the principle at large in my Annual Reports. The 14th section of the School Act of 1850 provides that not even the local Trustees shall interpose between any parent and his child in regard to religious instruction. I have maintained that each parent has a right to send his child to what school he pleases, without any intervening power from the State or Church. Bishop Charbonnel in his famous Lent pastoral letter of 1856, said:—

"Catholic electors in this country who do not use their *electoral power in behalf of Separate Schools* are guilty of mortal sin: likewise *parents not making the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools, or sending their children to Mixed Schools.*"

But in reference to that episcopal decree, I maintained that it was not only an undue interference with the electoral and civil affairs of the country, but an annihilation of the rights of parents, whose prerogative it was to send their children to the separate or mixed schools as they pleased. I think every reader will see that the priestly assumption which compels a parent upon pain of mortal sin, to take away his child from a mixed school and put him into a separate school, is the same in principle, though less aggravated in form, with that which tore the little *Mortara* from his parents and carried him a captive prisoner to a monastic school. I further remark that the teacher of our common school is not the representative, much less the "creature of the political power" of the state, but is the representative and agent of the parents who employ him, and who, through their own elected local representatives, choose, pay, and dismiss the teacher, at their pleasure—the state requiring nothing more, as the condition of granting aid from its treasury, than that the teacher shall be a person of good moral character, and of certain literary qualifications. The parents through their local elected representatives, and by their own undelegated and inalienable right as to religious instruction, are as much represented by the teacher in the mixed schools, as they are in the separate schools. What your "*political ally,*" therefore, says in the above extract is simply eloquent rant and folly.

79. Mr. McGee's heartless distinction between the children of the drunkard and the sober man at school.

But let Mr. McGee speak again. He says—

“The principle of the common school is, that every child, within a certain district, section, or ward, has an equal right to the advantages of the school and the time of the teacher. As before the law, I admit, all men are equal, and exclusively, all children. But I deny as between each other in social or school intercourse, that either men or boys can be moral equals. The child of the drunkard and the swearer is not the equal of the child of virtuous and sober parents, and ought never to be confounded with him. Children are great imitators, and what they hear and see at home they bring abroad; hence the teacher who does his duty ought to be always able, from the first, to distinguish the children by the character of their parents.”

Now, I thank Almighty God, and view it as the glory of our country, that each child, whether of the poor man or of the rich man, whether of the drunkard or of the sober man, “has an equal right to the advantages of the school and the time of the teacher;” that each child is accountable at school for his own conduct, and not for that of his parent; that if a little boy or a little girl has the misfortune of having a drunken father, he or she is not to be visited with the additional misfortune of being regarded on that account as a rotten sheep in the flock, marked and separated from the other children as are the children of slaves in the Southern States from those of their masters. Yet, Mr. McGee wishes to denude our school system of this most humane feature, and he becomes and is received as your “political ally” in school matters! But this is not the last, nor yet the most significant deliverance of Mr. McGee on our school system. He shall yet speak for himself five times more. He says:—

80. Mr. McGee's horror at the association of Roman Catholic and Protestant children at school—He goes further than the Bishop.

“It has been said—What danger is there in teaching children the multiplication table in common?—what danger in teaching them the alphabet in common? I repeat it is not the teaching but the association which corrupts, and which is to be guarded against as the worst danger of the indiscriminate grouping of children together. But there is another consideration: teaching that two and two make four, is teaching to reason—it is teaching the use of the mental faculties—and we insist that every lesson in reason, shall be accompanied by a lesson in revelation, as a rider, as a safeguard. I, as a parent, am not willing to risk the experiment of exercising only a Sunday revision over the imbedded and false impressions of the week.

should eat on Sunday all the salt necessary for the retrospective salting of its six days' food. (Hear, hear.) I, as a parent, believe the lungs of children, when inflated, to be buoyant; but I am not on that account disposed to bring my child to the pier, and throw it into Lake Ontario, to see whether or not it may rise and float.”—[*Ibid.*]

The above quotation contains not only a repetition of Bishop Charbonnel's objections against mixed schools, upon the ground of association, apart from teaching, but Mr. McGee goes beyond the Bishop. The Bishop did make some exceptions; but Mr. McGee makes none. He will not allow Roman Catholic and Protestant children to learn in common the alphabet, or multiplication table, or that two and two make four; nor, as a parent, will he risk the experiment of exposing his children to the “embedded errors and false impressions of the week,” arising from their association with Protestant children, any more than he would throw them into Lake Ontario to see whether they may rise and float! And yet, in the presence of these facts, you have the hardihood to tell the public that you and Mr. McGee are allied to “put an end to Separate Schools;” and, as you say in your speech to the electors of Toronto at your late election, “that all children of whatever denomination, shall come into the same schoolroom, sit at the same desks, grow up hand in hand, and forget those sectional animosities that now form the greatest obstacle in the way of our progress as a people.” Can there be anything more audacious than you and Mr. McGee's professed alliance to give uniformity to our school system, with the avowal of such doctrines on his part and yours?

81. Mr. McGee's opinion that the support of schools by the State is the worst of monopolies.

But Mr. McGee goes further. He objects to the State providing for the support of any one class of teachers as the worst of monopolies. He says:—

“But there are other objections, Mr. Speaker, though none of equal importance to that I have just stated. One of them is—that the Common School system is a monopoly of teaching, which it is wonderful that those who oppose bounties on industry of every kind, yet advocate it in this instance. (Hear, hear.) This is an objection long ago made; it will be found stated with his usual force by Adam Smith. In his “Wealth of Nations,” that great, though now sometimes despised, economist, whose chief work has served all British statesmen as a compendium and text-book for sixty years, lays down the doctrine, that the private teacher, as compared with the teacher in the pay of the State, is like the private merchant

merchant trading with a bounty. He classes it among the monopolies fatal to free principles; and of all monopolies, a monopoly in public instruction must be the worst." *[Ibid.]*

Well might Mr. McDougall (in an excellent speech in support of our common school system as it is though he voted to abolish the Separate School provisions of it) say, "that Mr. McGee's arguments had been directed against the State having anything to do with the support of education—even of Separate Schools." But, you, Sir, with the above quoted words still ringing in your ears, become the "political ally" of Mr. McGee for the pretended object of perfecting our system of State education!

82. Mr. McGee's appeal to Protestants in support of Separate Schools.—His anxiety to keep Roman Catholic children out of the Public Schools.

Then Mr. McGee proceeds,—

"Catholics do not stand alone in their opposition to this monopoly. At the late Anglican Synod in this city, a Report in favor of Separate Schools was read, and would have been adopted, but that the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron pointed out, that they could have all they wanted under the present law. Among Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious bodies, there are many advocates of combining religious and secular instruction, in the daily teaching of children. (Hear, hear.) In Lower Canada, the British Protestant population are a mere moiety. Are they in favor of abolishing their own schools? Ask the hon. members who especially represent them, if that is the case? No one rises to answer in the affirmative. Why then not observe the common Christian rule of "doing unto others, as we would wish to be done by," and allow the Catholic minority in Upper Canada to educate their own children in peace." *[Ibid.]*

Yet, Sir, in the presence of these facts, you tell us that you and Mr. McGee are allied to complete what he declares to be a "monopoly," and in opposition to which he invokes the co-operation of Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist Protestants! But, Sir, while you are recommending Mr. McGee to the Reformers of Upper Canada, as a "political ally" to bring "all children, of whatever denomination, into the same school room, to sit at the same desks, and grow up hand in hand," what does Mr. McGee himself say to the Reformers of the House of Assembly? He says—

"To honorable gentlemen on this side of the House, with whom I generally always agree on other questions, I would say, educate your children your own way, but allow us to educate ours; we don't want to interfere with your common schools, *we only want to keep our own children out of them.*" *[Ibid.]*

And yet, in the face of this spurning of

our common schools by Mr. McGee, you tell us you and he have become "political allies" to get Roman Catholic children into those common schools, and "put an end to separate schools!"

83. Mr. McGee's protest against the School Law recognizing the equality between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches.

But let Mr. McGee speak once more, and how much all Protestants must be flattered by what he says, and how strong must be his claims upon Protestant Reformers of "broad principles," when he thus delivers himself:—

"Catholic parents object to both assumptions, and to the state school system, because it assumes that all sects are equal, and that all Christians are sectaries. We have never been a sect; and will not consent to write ourself down beside every "ism" of yesterday. (Hear, hear.) I may be charged with illiberality in thus stating my opinions, and those of every Catholic in communion with his church; for it is not every one who calls himself a Catholic, that the Corporation, that the Church recognizes as such. (Hear, hear.) Every sect speaks of its "members in good standing," and so does the Catholic Church. And I repeat, sir, that there is not a Catholic layman "in good standing," knowing something of his own religion, on either side of the Atlantic, who does not hold unmixed secular instruction to be an evil of the most dangerous kind, fatal to the faith and morals of his children." *[Ibid.]*

84. Character of the Brown-McGee alliance under the pretext of putting an end to Separate Schools—the enemies of the School System among the bosom friends of Mr. Brown!

Now, Sir, let the above quotations of Mr. McGee's own words bear witness to the truth of his denial, that he has never declared what would and should not be in regard to changing our school system; and let them testify, with trumpet voice, as to the character of your and Mr. McGee's alliance in regard to our school system. In no instance has the idea of abolishing separate schools been entertained by Mr. McGee, but the very reverse; nor has it been mooted by any one of your late Lower Canada colleagues; but, on the contrary, "a compromise" on your part, which I will show from your own words, involves a larger

* And yet Mr. Brown, in his letter, thus denounces Dr. Ryerson for not joining in the grand alliance with McGee, to harmonise our school system with the views of this "Catholic layman in good standing!" Addressing Dr. Ryerson, Mr. Brown says: "Had you in reality the anxious desire for the success of the school system of Upper Canada that you profess to have, far from acting as you are doing, you would heartily rejoice to see a gentleman of Mr. McGee's great ability and influence with the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada, candidly admitting the grave difficulties of the school question, and joining with the men in the Assembly who have always advocated mixed schools, to find, if possible, some mode satisfactory to Protestant and Roman Catholics alike, of putting an end to Separate Schools." [Dec. 16.]

concession to separate schools than has ever yet been granted. And this, sir, is the price at which you have bartered your professed principles for the power and emoluments of office ; and this is the reason why Mr. McGee, and those members of the Roman Catholic Church held by him to be in good standing, (that is, the Papists in contradistinction to Catholics,) who have warred against our school system, are now your bosom friends and avowed supporters. They have not changed their 'former course' as Vicar-General Bruyere quietly compliments the *Globe* for doing ; but they have learned the price at which you would become "their political ally," to weaken the foundations and ultimately demolish the superstructure of a system which involves the best liberties and interests of Upper Canada. But what Mr. Drummond calls your "honorable compromise" on the "separate

school question" must be discussed in another letter, in which, among other things, I propose to show that you agreed, 1. To send a mission to Ireland, in contradiction to what you have asserted in your long letter to me ; 2. To pursue a different course in regard to the Roman Catholic Church, from what you have pursued in past years, and by means of what you have acquired your chief influence among a large class of Protestants in Upper Canada ; 3. To "compromise" on the separate school question what you have heretofore denounced, and what would really tend to subvert our school system ; 4. To exclude the Bible from our schools—you regarding the cry on that subject as a "SHAM."

I have, &c.

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, January 17, 1859.

No. VIII.—The Mission to Ireland, and Mr. Brown dismounted from his high Protestant Horse.

85. Mr. Brown's abandonment of principle—Four propositions.—Agreement and evidence defined.

SIR,—In discussing what the Honorable Mr. Drummond has called your "honorable compromise on the separate school question," I purpose to show that you have agreed to do four things : 1. To send a mission to Ireland, in contradiction to what you appear to assert in your long letter to me ; 2. To pursue a different course in regard to Popery and the Roman Catholic Church, from what you have done in past years, and by means of which you have acquired your chief influence among a large class of Protestants in Upper Canada ; 3. To a "compromise," on the separate school question, what you have heretofore denounced, and what would really tend to subvert our school system ; 4. To exclude the Bible from our schools. These are the principal topics of this and the next letter, though others will be touched upon by the way.

When I say you have agreed to do these things, I do not mean to assert that you have entered into a written engagement to do them ; nor do I mean to say that there has been a specific verbal agreement in regard to each of them. If a written agreement has been entered into between you and other parties, on one or more of these subjects, as has been alleged, it would be like the secret articles of an international treaty, not provable in the court of public discussion, from the concealment of the documentary evidence, though every one

might be satisfied of the fact from the acts of the parties concerned, and from reliable private information, the sources of which could not be disclosed from prudential considerations affecting individuals. Besides, in all secret party arrangements, as well as conspiracies, precautions are taken to prevent proof of individual acts, even if the plans or plots themselves should be discovered. So, in the present question, I do not mean to assert, much less to prove, the existence of direct, positive, specific agreement on your part of the sale of your principles in the matter referred to, but I mean to prove the first of the above propositions by positive testimony, and the other three by direct or indirect admissions, or by acts which cannot be otherwise accounted for ; the same as smoke, or day, or consciousness cannot be accounted for, except from the existence of fire, of the sun, or of life. The effects prove the existence of the cause, even in the absence of all other evidence. But, in the present discussion, I shall produce other than the *a posteriori*, or inductive evidence, primarily relied upon to prove the first truths of religion itself.

86. First proposition proved.—Mr. Brown's mission to Ireland—His rhetorical flourishes and finesse.

In the first place, then, as to the mission to Ireland, in my first reply to your attacks, in retorting them, I alluded to this mission. I will cite the passage of my letter in which it occurs. Addressing you I said :

"You know that in my successive school reports and otherwise, I have protested against

men, not resident in Upper Canada, and not elected by the people of any section of Upper Canada, interfering with the school system of Upper Canada; and these views have been strongly endorsed by the *Globe*, which has loudly and frequently denounced intermeddling with the school affairs of Upper Canada, by what it termed the "Priest-ridden" politicians of Lower Canada. But, after all this, and after having assailed me on the score of "political allies," even with no other than the alleged view of maintaining our existing school system, you have formed a political alliance with a man of Lower Canada, in order to modify the school system of Upper Canada, accepting his dictation and proposing to send him to Ireland to import a school system for Upper Canada, as a substitute for that already established, and that man holding the avowed sentiments of the sect which the *London Times* describes as Papists. I need scarcely say that I mean Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., M.P.P., of Montreal."

In your rejoinder, after sundry rhetorical flourishes as to my "audacity" and "insolent attack on Mr. McGee," you say, "*That in the negotiations between Mr. Dorion and myself on the school question, neither he nor any body else was ever thought of or spoken of as a commissioner to Ireland.*" Now, it is curious to observe, that in this diplomatic denial, you virtually admit the correctness of the remark in my letter. You do not deny that a mission to Ireland was contemplated, or that it was agreed upon, or even that Mr. McGee was to be the Commissioner. But you deny that it was mentioned or thought of "*in the negotiations between Mr. Dorion and yourself on the school question.*" I never mentioned your "negotiations with Mr. Dorion." I do not recollect having even thought of that gentleman when I wrote the paragraph referring to the mission to Ireland. I did not say when, where, or with whom the current fact originated, I simply mentioned you as "proposing to send him to Ireland." You do not deny it; but you raise a dust by denying something else that I neither said or thought of—namely, the mention of the subject in your "negotiations with Mr. Dorion." Nor did I say that Mr. Dorion, or any other person was a party to it. Of that I knew nothing, and therefore could affirm nothing. But I had heard it respecting yourself. I have also been assured that the authority upon which *The Leader* first mentioned your having proposed to send Mr. McGee to Ireland is undoubted, though confidential; and *The Leader* is confessedly better authority, beyond comparison, than the *Globe*, for any matter of fact. The *Colonist* has recently asserted the same thing upon satisfactory private authority, and his reliability is also vastly above that of the *Globe*. But, apart from these au-

thorities, either of which is quite sufficient to justify my allusion, I have no more doubt of the fact than I have of my own existence; nor do I doubt being able (were the case contested) to establish it to the satisfaction of any court and jury upon the authority of private information, which I am not at liberty to make use of in a newspaper, that you contemplated sending Mr. McGee to Ireland, and that one object of your doing so was to secure delay in regard to the school question. How many others were parties or privies to it, I do not pretend to know: nor did I know whether Mr. McGee himself was a party to it. He, of course, denies it; but considering his trade for these many years past, his affirmation or denial can be of no consequence. He denies that any mission was thought of; yet I will now prove it, which is the only point of real importance in this part of the discussion, and respecting which we have public authority.

'87. Testimony of Messrs. Dorion and Connor.

My first authority is that of the Hon. Mr. Dorion, in his written address to the electors of Montreal, published in the *Globe* of the 19th August:—

"It was admitted that the Common Schools of Upper Canada would be ameliorated, by seeking amongst European systems, and especially in the National Schools of Ireland—approved alike by the Catholic and Protestant Clergy of all denominations—the modifications necessary to establish Common Schools according to a general system, which should offer every facility to religious instruction—the basis of all solid education—without shocking the belief of any one who should frequent them; and that the present laws which satisfy neither Catholic nor Protestant, should only remain until a measure more satisfactory for all classes of the population should be adopted."

Now what is to "seek among," but, as both Johnson and Webster say, in defining its first and most obvious meaning, "to go in search or quest of, to look for, to search by going from place to place?"

Then there is the explicit testimony of Dr. Connor, which you have never ventured to contradict, to this day. In his speech at Ingersoll, as published in the *Ingersoll Chronicle* of the 18th August, and since copied in other papers. Dr. Connor says:

"With regard to Sectarian Schools, we agreed that we would send to Ireland, and make inquiries concerning the system pursued there, which system seems to have taken a great hold on the mind of the country." Mr. Dorion's words are without meaning, and Dr. Connor's words are without truth, if a mission to Ireland was not contemplated. Dr. Connor had the h-

means of knowing, and no one will doubt his statement. On another occasion he says no one had thought of sending Mr. McGee on that mission. Possibly Dr. Connor may of thought of going himself; but he does not seem to have known what you thought about sending Mr. McGee; but as to the mission itself, Dr. Connor's statement is positive and conclusive.

88. Second proposition proved—Mr. Brown's abandonment of his high Protestant Horse—John Knox's spirit departed.—Concession to Attorney-General Macdonald, which Mr. Brown now attempts to falsify.

2. The next question relates to the different course which you now pursue in regard to the Roman Catholic Priesthood and Church from that which you have pursued in past years, and by means of which you have acquired your chief influence among a large class of the Protestants of Upper Canada. It is not for me to discuss the merits of your present or former course of proceeding in regard to the Church of Rome. That your present course is the reverse of your former course in this respect, no one can doubt. Every number, almost every column of the *Globe* bears witness to this. Every reader of it knows and feels that, whether for better or worse, the *Globe* is not its former self in this respect. The championship of Protestantism against the aggressions of Romanism is wanting in its pages. Its avowed John Knox spirit has departed; and the Bruyere spirit now smiles upon the *Globe*, while it frowns upon the *Colonist* and *The Leader*. I might fill columns with illustrations, and that without falsifying a single quotation, or chopping a single sentence off in the middle, or picking out a phrase here and there, in order to misrepresent your acts and your sentiments, as you have done mine.* I will, as a specimen of your change, take a single number of the *Globe*, that of the 25th June, 1855, the number which contains a copy of the Roman Catholic Separate School Bill of 1855. I will quote four passages from your editorial of that date, as follows:—

"It is a well known fact that Mr. Attorney-General Macdonald's personal convictions are not in favor of the sectarian element remaining part of the national school system—and that Mr. Spence, up to the moment of his elevation to office, professed the bitterest opposition to it. It is equally notorious that Mr. Cauchon and Col. Taché, on the other hand, are the veriest tools of the Roman Hierarchy—that in obedience to its command they have ever denounced the national system of Upper Canada as infidel in principle and in tendency, and sought to place the instruction of the youth of the Province directly under the control of the priest-

hood. That a battle waged within the Cabinet for many weeks, for the mastery on this question, few acquainted with the facts will hesitate to believe. Mr. Macdonald introduced a School Bill so early in the session as the 6th of March, but it had no clause to extend the sectarian element further than previously existing—nay, the friends of national education were prepared to make a fight when that Bill came up, for the insertion of a clause repealing all the sectarian provisions then in existence. But no sooner was the Bill announced, than down came Bishop Charbonnel to the seat of Government, lobbying, urging, and threatening. Committees of Council gravely considered the dire effects of refusing him—private meetings between his Roman Reverence and the Superintendent of Education, it is said, took place; but the result of it all was that the poor cravens in the Ministry from Upper Canada, for the sake of holding their offices a little longer, went down on their knees to Messrs. Cauchon and Taché, and ate their leek with all humility. Mr. Macdonald's bill stood over, week after week, waiting a decision of the knotty point; but at last the result was made public by the audacious movement of Col. Taché in the Legislative Council."

"We readily admit that the Bill, as passed, is as innocuous as a Papistical School Bill could well be—but a Papistical School Bill it is—wrong in principle and tending to the destruction of the whole national system of education."

"Romish and Puseyite priestcraft cannot stand before the enlightenment fast spreading over the land by means of our common schools—almost its last hope is to strangle them. An open attack dare not be made on the schools; but an insidious side-blow is aimed at them, far more dangerous; for it hypocritically appeals to the religious feelings of the people."

"There is no safety in tampering in this matter; our Common Schools must be freed from the sectarian element that now lurks in the system, and at every hazard they must be maintained in their integrity against all assaults—whether from Roman Priests, or Puseyite Anglicans."

From your own statement, in the above quoted paragraphs, it is clear that Mr. Attorney General Macdonald was not the enemy of our School System that you have for years been representing him—that he made a very long fight against the introduction of the Separate School Bill of 1855, as I certainly made a very hard one; and when we did not succeed in preventing the introduction of that Bill, we succeeded, with the aid of earnest remonstrances from seven members of the Church of England, (six Conservatives and one Reformer,) and a speech or two from yourself, in preventing it from being a *Protestant*, and making it exclusively a *Roman Catholic Separate School Bill*, and (to borrow your own words,) "as innocuous as a Papistical School Bill well could be;" but

* For a series of choice extracts from the *Globe* on this subject, see Appendix.

which you describe in five paragraphs in your letter to me, as a very awful Bill—involving monstrous concessions to the Roman Catholics, though drafted by Mr. Brown's own Attorney General (Drummond), and supported by him. [See p. 58.] Yet, in another *Globe*, (as I shall show hereafter,) when you began to woo the "Roman Catholic supporters" of Mr. McGee, you said if they have a Separate School Bill at all, (as you knew they would have,) they ought to have a much more liberal one than they now have.

89. The "poor craven" imitated by Mr. Brown in kneeling to Messrs. Cauchon & Taché, &c.—The McGee & Brown double game for Protestants of "broad principles."

It is thus, when you want to attack what you term "the poor cravens in the Ministry from Upper Canada," you represent them, as well as my poor self also, as having bartered away the Protestant rights of the people of Upper Canada, and "for the sake of holding their offices a little longer, going down upon their knees to Messrs. Cauchon and Taché, and eating their leek with all humility;" but when you want to give effect to your McGee alliance, you tell the Roman Catholics that the "existing clauses are not adequate in carrying out the separate system," that "from their point of view, the Catholics are right in the course they have taken" in demanding further concessions. Thus, you play a Protestant and Roman Catholic game in turn, according to the class of readers for whom, and the object for which, you write; as Mr. McGee has one speech for "Protestants of broad principles," who dined him at London, and another speech for the Catholic readers of the *Canadian Freeman and True Witness*.*

*This double game for an unworthy purpose, is also shown in Mr. Brown's disreputable system of printing or suppressing such parts of the Parliamentary debates of the present Session as will suit his purpose and will not offend his readers of "Broad Protestant Principles." A Brantford "Correspondent" of McGee's Montreal organ, the "True Witness," Feb. 4th, thus, in one example of a case which came under his own observation, exposes the cheat which Mr. Brown almost invariably practices on the unsuspecting readers of the *Globe* [See also pp. 28, 80, & 88]:

"With very many others I enjoyed the happiness of hearing Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Esq., M.P., addressing the House of Assembly on last Tuesday night. It is needless to say a word of the profound respect and attention with which he was heard by a crowded House. Next morning I expected to find the Hon. Gentleman's speech wholly and correctly reported in the columns of the *Friendly Globe* newspaper. Imagine how surprised and indignant I felt when I read verbatim every thing Mr. McGee said in favour of Mr. Brown; the well-deserved censure he inflicted on the Rev. Chief Superintendent of Common Schools. . . . BUT NOT A WORD RESPECTING WHAT THE HON. GENTLEMAN HAD SAID OF HIMSELF AS A PAPIST, NOR OF HIS READINESS, FROM TRUE CONVICTION, TO PROTEST HIS RELIGION AS WELL ON THE MOUNTAIN TOP AS IN THE LONDON CAVE."—*True Witness*, Feb. 18.

Two such "political allies," each with "two strings to his bow," doubtless expected a great success among the unsuspecting natives; but each class of readers intended to be deceived by this shallow artifice, may evince a just disgust and resentment on ascertaining the game of "double shuffle," which you and Mr. McGee have been practising upon them for your own purposes.

90. Mr. Brown on his Protestant Bucephalus, armed cap-a-pie.—His zeal and selfishness only equalled by Jehu.—The sour grapes now sweet.—The *Globe* on Sir E. P. Taché's "Pharisaical Brawlers," and its silence on insults to Protestants by Mr. Brown's own ally.

The paragraphs above quoted are specimens of your Protestant game in past years, when you rode a high Protestant horse,—a very Bucephalus of his kind—with the banner of "broad Protestant principles" floating in the breeze. Your zeal to destroy the alleged adversaries of Protestantism was quite as great as that of Jehu to destroy root and branch the house of Ahab, and quite as selfish. Tens of thousands of Protestants came to regard you as a standard-bearer of Protestant principles and liberty, and to view through the medium of the *Globe* all who did not follow you as the poor craven "tools of Popery," and enemies of our "nobleschool system." It was thus that such men as Messrs. Stevenson and Gamble and others who had borne the burden and heat of the day in supporting and defending that school system when you were assailing it, were hunted down by the *Globe* as trucklers to Popery. One of the crimes of the Government of the day was, that it had "Roman Catholic supporters," and that was held up as a sign and proof of its Popish character. To have "Roman Catholic supporters," was then very sour grapes, nay, was a great crime against Upper Canada; but how sweet did those grapes become the moment they appeared within your reach, and how soon did that crime become a virtue, when Mr. McGee, the most ultra of all the Roman Catholics who ever spoke in the house of Assembly, was found available as your "political ally," with, as you say, "his influence among the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada." From that hour no such paragraphs as those above quoted have found their way into the columns of the *Globe*.^{*} Even the kidnapped *Mortara* could not find space in your columns for a decent account of his sufferings (except some statements of a London letter writer), until two days after I drew attention to the subject in my fourth letter, and that copied from the *New York Times* as news, unaccompanied

*See the Hon. Mr. Thibaudan's testimony on page

by a single editorial remark, lest offence might be given to your new "Roman Catholic supporters." Colonel Taché and other Roman Catholic members of the Legislature are liberals indeed in comparison with Mr. McGee, as shown by his speech quoted in my last letter. Colonel Taché's allusion, some years since, to the *Globe* assailants of the Church of Rome as "pharisaical brawlers," was echoed and re-echoed by the *Globe* in every part of Upper Canada for years as an insult to Protestants; but of Mr. McGee's most ultra and insulting speech, such as was never before delivered in the Canadian Legislature, you have not one word to say, but you embrace Mr. McGee himself as your "political ally," and denounce me for not doing the same!

91. Vicar-Gen. Bruyere patting Mr. Brown on the shoulder, who is down on his knees, in hope of being able thereby to "eat his leek with all humility."

The *Globe* is now as free from anything against "Roman priestcraft" as it formerly was full of it; and even Bishop Charbonnel's fighting Vicar General Bruyere pats you upon the shoulder, and commends you for no longer pursuing your "former course;"* and the Montreal *True Witness* himself pronounces you a much better friend to separate schools "than the Rev. Mr. Ryerson." To complete the picture, we now see you—the former supposed Achilles of Protestantism—in the very position you represented "the poor cravens of the Ministry" in 1855, "down on your knees" to the aforesaid Mr. Cauchon, to Mr. Drummond, the author of the "Papistical School Bill,"† to Mr. Dorion, the ear-

*According to Mr. Bruyere, times must have changed since the "hate" spoken of in the following passage has been followed by so much love and approval on his part as is expressed above. The *Globe* of Dec. 1887, says:—"It is George Brown that Priest Bruyere hates; it is he that the priest wished to drive from the polls; and will the Protestants of Toronto endure to be represented by the nominee of a foreign priest? Up, Protestants and Orangemen!—so bitterly denounced in Bruyere's philippic—and show that you will never submit to Papal rule—that you will defend your schools against all the assaults that Papal hate can devise."

† It is curious to see how readily Mr. Brown can palliate the preparation of this "scandalous" Bill by his own Attorney General, and yet denounce another Attorney General (not of his government) for assenting to it! This finessing can scarcely be believed, but such is the fact, as will be seen from the following extract from Mr. Brown's speech, reported at full length in the *Globe* of the 14th and 16th Feb., after the replies to it had been made. Mr. Brown goes on to say:—"At the very close of the same session of 1855, within eight days of the prorogation, when most of the Upper Canada members had left Quebec—we had also that scandalous Bill, which, had it passed, must have destroyed the whole School system of Upper Canada. (Hear, hear.) Not one petition was there from Upper Canada for that Bill, the sentiments of the great mass of the people were utterly opposed to it—no copy of the Bill had been seen in Upper Canada—but the political exigencies of the collision demanded it—"

next advocate of it, to Mr. McGee, the man of "More power to the Pope," in the hope of getting into the offices of those "poor cravens," so as to "eat your leek with all humility."

92. Sad and ludicrous spectacle!—Mr. Dorion's achievement.—Mr. Cauchon's merry laugh.—The Bishop and the Vicar General's *Te Deum*, not over the Convert but over the Apostate.

I confess to you, Sir, there is something very sad as well as ludicrous in this spectacle. Were Mr. Drummond as revengeful as you are, instead of being amiable and generous as he is, how would he be more than avenged for the "ten years of slander and falsehood" you have been vomiting forth against himself and his co-religionists? How proud may Mr. Dorion well be of his achievement! How must Mr. Cauchon re-echo his merry laugh, and Bishop Charbonnel and his Vicar General Bruyere sing their *Te Deums*, not over the convert but over the apostate, worthy to do their work, but unworthy to command their respect, and only fit to be scowled from their presence after having bartered himself to accomplish their purpose. And what shame and regret must swell the heart of that large portion of Canadian Protestants who have been deluded, and who shouted, and labored and paid largely at elections, in expectation of your inaugurating a system of government upon "broad Protestant principles!"

93. Mr. Brown declares "You'll find no change in me!" None in the Roman Church or in its organs. The Brown-McGee alliance, therefore, the result of mere bargain and sale. (For the "bond," see note.)

Now, Sir, the fact of your having changed your course in regard to "Romish priestcraft" and the Romish Church, being unquestionable, every reader of the *Globe* being a witness of it, and the jury of the public being judges, the inquiry arises, how has such a change been brought about? Have the "Roman Priests" changed either in their principles or in their objects? Has the Roman Catholic Church changed in either its doctrines or policy? Is there any change in the avowed principles and objects of even its newspaper organs, in school or

Atty. Gen. MACDONALD.—"Your Attorney General East (Mr. Drummond) was responsible for it."

Mr. BROWN.—"Undoubtedly he was responsible, but what was his offense, as a Roman Catholic and a Lower Canadian in voting for that Bill in comparison with that of the hon. gentleman himself (Mr. Macdonald) who, as a Protestant, the leader of Upper Canada, the protector of Upper Canada interests, introduced the Bill to save his paltry office, assented to it on behalf of Upper Canada, and by making it a Ministerial measure, compelled his colleagues to support it? (Cheers.)"

And yet the *Globe* of the 25th June, 1855, (see page 56) stated it to be "a well known fact [at the time] that Mr. Attorney General Macdonald's personal convictions were not in favor of the sectarian element remaining part of the National School system!" Thus we have Brown versus Brown.

other matters? No, Sir, you know that there is not the slightest change in any of these respects; nor in any real or alleged danger from that quarter. Then is there any change in your principles? You deny that there is. You affirm that in principle you are the same man that you have always been. The only remaining alternative then is, that your change of course has been a matter of bargain and sale, formal or implied—of which of course there can be no eye or ear witnesses beyond the parties to it; but of which the above inductive evi-

dence is as conclusive as that which proves the existence of virtue from good morals, of depravity from vice, or of life from seeing or feeling.*

3. Such is the argument of my second proposition. I am next to show, that you have *compromised* on the Separate School question what you have heretofore denounced, and what would really tend to subvert our noble school system."

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, January 21, 1859.

No. IX.—Mr. Brown's "compromise" on the Separate School question—His objection to the abstract right of reading the Bible in the Schools.

94. Third proposition proved.—Mr. Brown's tampering and deliberate compromise of what he had heretofore denounced.

SIR,—I am, in the third place, to show that you have *compromised* on the Separate School question what you have heretofore denounced, and what would really tend to subvert our school system.

In the last of your paragraphs quoted in my last letter, you denounced all "tampering" with the question of Separate Schools. You have done the same in almost every possible form of expression in past years. As late as the 5th of last May you say in the *Globe*:

"Dr. Ryerson is essentially a COMPROMISER. He never carries out a principle to its full conclusion, and is always ready to abandon one when it suits the exigencies of the moment. He has, on more than one occasion, forsaken the political party with which he acted, on questions of principle, at the dictation of expediency; and on this occasion he has not been more consistent."†

* The secret of the "bargain and sale" seems to be so admirably told in the latter part of the following editorial from the *Globe* of the 10th of December, 1856, that we cannot forbear giving it: "In Lower Canada there is a direct connection between the Church of Rome and the State. The political power of its priesthood, and their determination to use that power whenever the interests of the body can be promoted by it, are facts that can neither be ignored nor explained away. The same denominational power is seen and felt at every election in Upper Canada. It has become an element of potent influence in every political movement. *The most unsophisticated politician knows that the Roman Catholic vote is, as nearly as possible, a unit, and that if he would secure it, there is but one way open to him. HE MUST PAY THE PRICE; HE MUST SIGN THE BOND. He must agree to give Rome what she demands or he must do without Rome's vote.*"—[See page 63.]

† The following was Dr. Ryerson's reply to the latter part of Mr. Brown's charge, in the latter part of the letter quoted in the text:—

"But if compromise is involved in any one thing; more than in another, it is in political party,—that to which the *Globe*, and not the *Globe* alone, has charged me with want of fidelity. Whether the *Globe* has always adhered to the political party with which it once acted, is a point which I do not profess to decide; but as for myself, I have, throughout life, disclaimed, as inconsistent with my position and convictions, being a political party man, or being bound by any ties of political party, but writing what I believed to be right in itself, just to all classes, and important and best for the interests and circumstances of the country, regarding in comparison of such interests, parties or party men as little more than nine-pins. Had I been a party compromiser, I should doubtless have done otherwise; but for the liberty and sometimes the luxury of thinking for myself, and writing what I thought, I have been willing to pay the tax of the successive censures and praises of all political parties, as my views happened to favor or oppose their party views and interests. I may have been often wrong in my views, and unwise in my acts; but I have at least not compromised my thoughts, when I deemed it my duty to express them, to please or oppose any body whether in Church or in State; and I leave it to those who will soon come after me, to decide whether I have done more to advance or retard the liberties and well-being of my native country."

law for all,—which is absolute tyranny; of every man's will is law for himself,—which is perfect anarchy. The Earl of Derby, the leader of the great Conservative party of England remarked some time since in one of his orations, that 'Parliamentary Government itself is a great system of compromise.' To compromise nothing by setting up one's own will as the rule of action in every thing, is the essence of tyranny, or idioey, or impracticable obstinacy. In scriptural truth and duty, there can be no compromise, for God's will of infinite wisdom is supreme and unchangeable, and is our sole rule of faith and practice; but subordinate to that Divine authority, every human system and pursuit, whether of Government, of Agriculture, of Commerce, of Mental Development or Mechanical application, is but a series of expedients, adapted and varied according to times, places and circumstances."

Now such were my professed principles of proceeding; and such were specimens of your denunciation of all "tampering" or "compromise" on the Separate School question. Yet the moment you found you could acquire office and power by it, you yourself became "essentially a compromiser," and that not only on the Separate School question, but on the question of Representation by Population also, and to an extent exceeding even Mr. Drummond's power of belief, and he is known not to be at all of a sceptical disposition. In his address to the electors of Shefford, dated 23d of August, Mr. Drummond says:

"The advanced party (of Canada West) had limited to two points the questions which separated certain Reformers from each other, viz: the repeal of the clauses of the Act of Union which give an equal Representation to the two sections of the Province, and the abolition of Separate Schools in Upper Canada.

"Even before the commencement of the last session of Parliament, I perceived that events were rapidly leading to the reorganization of the liberal party upon a broad basis, acceptable to reformers of every creed and race; and believing that Mr. Brown would not consent to any compromise on the two great questions of which I have just spoken, I looked upon him as the only obstacle to that great fusion. But when he solicited me to accept a seat in the cabinet which he was forming, I found that he was ready to *unite with us* to consider these important questions—and not to evade them as the administration had done—but to *solve them by the adoption of an honorable compromise*—which would doubtless have satisfied reasonable necessities, and guaranteed the just rights of those who were therein concerned. The Lower Canadians and the Roman Catholics had the assurance that their interests would be suitably protected, since, in Mr. Brown's Cabinet, the two races were equally represented, and it contained more men professing the Catholic re-

ligion, than there had been in any preceding government."

It thus appears that in the presence of Mr. Drummond, author of the Separate School Bill of 1855, and Mr. Dorion, its advocate, and in prospect of office and power, your objections to "tampering" with the Separate School question immediately vanished, and you surpassed Mr. Drummond's previous capacity of faith in your qualities of compromise—of "honorable compromise," of course, for "Brutus is an honorable man." Judging from Mr. Drummond's power of belief, and your still greater powers of "honorable compromise" one may imagine you outdoing in courtiership anything you have attributed to Chief Justice Draper himself, and that you were anything, and everything that Messrs. Drummond and Dorion could desire on the score of "honorable compromise."

* Not being able to command an English paper containing a copy of Mr. Drummond's address, I have translated this passage from the French, as published in *Le Pays* of the 1st September. I hereto append the original, as follows:

"Mais dans la partie ouest de la province, la division était plus alarmante, et d'autant plus qu'elle paraissait prendre sa source dans les sentiments de défiance et de jalousie contre le Bas-Canada. Cependant le parti avancé avait limité à deux points les questions qui séparaient certains réformistes les uns des autres, savoir: le rappel de la clause de l'Acte d'Union qui donne une représentation égale aux deux sections de la province et l'abolition des écoles séparées dans le Haut-Canada.

"Avant même le commencement de la dernière session du parlement, je m'étais aperçu que les événements conduisaient rapidement à la réorganisation du parti libéral sur une base large et acceptable aux réformistes de toute croyance et de toute race; et, pensant que M. Brown ne consentirait pas à un compromis au sujet des deux grandes questions dont je viens de parler, je le regardais comme le seul obstacle qui s'opposait à l'accomplissement de cette grande fusion. Mais quand il me pria d'accepter un siège dans le cabinet qu'il était à former, je découvris qu'il était prêt à s'unir à nous pour s'occuper de ces importantes questions —et non pas pour les eluder comme l'administration l'avait fait—mais pour les résoudre par l'adoption d'un compromis honorable, qui aurait sans doute satisfait les exigences raisonnables, et garanti les droits justes de tous ceux qui y étaient concernés. Les Bas-Canadiens et les catholiques restaient avaient l'assurance que leurs intérêts seraient convenablement protégés, puisque, dans le cabinet de M. Brown, les deux races étaient également représentées et qu'il renfermait plus d'hommes professant la religion catholique qu'il n'y en avait eu dans aucun gouvernement précédent."

mise" on the Separate School question, (notwithstanding all your professions, denunciations and appeals against it in past years) if they would only join in making you Premier.*

95. Mr. Brown's suspicious silence on the honorable compromise.—Has struck the heaviest blow against the School System.—The empiric statesman.

Then, Sir, what was the nature of the "honorable compromise" you were ready to make on the Separate School question? The public have long since had a right to know this from your own mouth. The school system of a country, especially one like ours, established after the most careful and extensive enquiry, and developed step by step, and with a success unparalleled in any other country, should not be unsettled for the convenience of an individual politician who had placed himself in a false position; it should be only interfered with from a deep and wide felt necessity, and after the local municipalities and school authorities who are the burden bearers and chief workers of the system, should have the fullest opportunity for examination and the expression of their opinions. You have pursued a very different course. You direct the heaviest blow against the school system that was in the power of any public man in your position to inflict. You declare your purpose to abolish one feature of it, and in order to effect that, to change the whole of the internal character and working of the schools, affecting the most delicate relations and sacred interests of the pupils—in a word affecting the vital and most practical parts, and the whole religious character of the system. Now, there is nothing so weakening to the strength, and so detrimental to the progress and success of a system, as uncertainty and uneasiness among its managers and supporters, as to its permanence. You have avowed negotiations which touch the moral, religious, and social heart of our School system; and having thus given the blow, you there leave it with the intimation that your substitute is to be some vague importation from Ireland. But what that

importation is you do not say, and I am satisfied you do not know yourself. I believe you knew no more than a child what you were doing, when you agreed to the Irish importation. Instead of acting the part of a statesman, never to assent to a thing which he has not carefully examined and weighed for himself, you agreed to what involved a complete transformation of the religious and social character of our school system, without knowing what the adopted substitute was. You believed in Mr. McGee, who first dictated the great idea of importation from Ireland; and Mr. McGee believed that if he could get the patronage of schools taken out of the hands of parents who elect the trustees that employ the teacher both in separate and mixed schools, and have the Farmer made the Patron of the school as in Ireland, it would give "more power to the Pope," and you innocently agreed to Mr. McGee's dictation, being intent upon securing the now ripe and delicious grapes (so sour and bitter in 1855) of "Roman Catholic supporters."

96. Abolition of Separate Schools fatal to the Brown-McGee compromise.—Deliverance of the McGee party on the subject.

But the question recurs, what was the "honorable compromise" involved in your negotiations? As you have not informed the public and still refuse to do so, we are left to infer it from circumstances.*

One thing is certain, it did not involve the abolition of Separate Schools; for then it would not have been a "compromise." But for this there are two other reasons, both of which must be well known to you. The one is, that Separate School education is now a dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, as much as the immaculate conception is. In 1850 the Roman Catholic Council of Thurles, in Ireland, passed a statute condemnatory of mixed education; the Roman Catholic Provincial Councils of Baltimore and Quebec have since done the same. These statutes have been ratified by the Pope. This is, therefore, the dogma of the Church, however it may fall into disuse in some places, as Sir Thomas N. Redington says it does in some places in Ireland. But as a dogma no member of the Roman Catholic Church, however liberal, and however he may disregard it in the education of his own children, can publicly oppose it. It is, therefore, preposterous to think of legislating Separate Schools out of existence. The Roman Catholic members of Lower Canada will, as heretofore, vote against the repeal of the Separate School provisions of the law. There is also another reason,

* As to Mr. Brown's own opinion of compromise on these vital questions before he formed the McGee alliance, read the following extract from his speech to the electors of Toronto, reported in the *Globe* of the 18th Dec., 1867:

"What we now want are men to go to Parliament for Upper Canada who are not simply in favour of these general principles, but who are prepared to stand by these principles—Representation by Population and non-sectarian Schools—who, without regard to this Administration or the other Administration, in season and out of season, at all times and under all circumstances, are prepared to stand for these principles WITHOUT ANY COMPROMISE." [Loud cheering.]

† For a more specific statement of the "compromise" with Mr. Thibault on Separate Schools, see the note on page 60.

* See Mr. Thibault's explanation of the compromise, page 60.

more palpable, if not stronger. Mr. McGee's own newspaper organs declare against the idea of abolishing Separate Schools, and in favor of their extension.* One example from each is sufficient. The *Canadian Freeman*, (23rd September) the Toronto Catholic organ of Mr. McGee's party, says:—

"We are decidedly opposed to any system of education, be it national or otherwise, unless the plan, its adaptation and practical working, be first approved of by the hierarchy and clergy of Canada."

The "hierarchy and clergy of Canada" have already given their deliverance, and it is well known. The *True Witness* (of the 14th December,) the Montreal organ of Mr. McGee's party, after declaring "Equality of Representation, or Repeal of the Legislative Union. To no other alternative will we listen,"—proceeds as follows:

"On the school question we will be equally explicit. We will accept of no solution of that question as satisfactory which does not make the fullest provision for the separate education of Catholic and Protestant children. No conceivable modification of the *Common* school system, no pledges or guarantee that the faith of pupils shall not be interfered with, no uniform or national system in short will we accept; nor will we cease to oppose any Ministry that does not make separate schools and the Separate school system in its integrity, a plank of its political platform. This also is our ultimatum on the school question, from which we will not recede one inch."†

* Mr. Brown's famous *Lower Canada* "ally." Mr. McGee himself, on the 16th of Feb., 1859, (as reported in the *Globe*), "presented a petition from several thousand inhabitants of the county of Glengary, praying that certain Separate School privileges might be extended to the *Roman Catholic inhabitants of Upper Canada*!"

† The newspaper organs of Mr. McGee increase rather than relax in their demands for Separate Schools. The *True Witness* of the 11th Feb., 1859, says: "Every one in the slightest degree acquainted with the public declarations of the Catholic Church, must know, that it is to *mixed* or *common* schools—no matter what may be taught therein, or how conducted—that the Catholic Church objects; and that no possible or conceivable modification of a *common* or *mixed* system can mitigate our hostility towards it, or induce us to regard it with an eye of favor. In the plenitude of our rights as parents, we declare, we will not,—so help us God—that we will not allow our children to be educated either by Protestants or with Protestants. The Catholic, or professing Catholic, who can talk of so modifying a *common* or *mixed* system of education as to make it tolerable to Catholics, must be either a simpleton or something worse." Mr. McGee's Toronto organ, the *Canadian Freeman*, of the same date, (Feb. 11, 1859) devotes a column and a half to increased demands for Separate Schools, including a "Chief Catholic Director," Catholic "Local Superintendent" and Catholic "Grammar Schools," &c.; another column and a half to an appeal to the Roman Catholics of North Wellington to support Mr. Brown's candidate at the county election there.

The Toronto Roman Catholic manifesto for this election so full of bitterness and strife, is worthy of the "ally" and of the auspices under which it has been issued. Yet Dr. Ryerson has been denounced by Mr. Brown for not aiding Mr. McGee to settle the school question and to allay the religious animosities which he and his "ally"

97. Mr. Brown on the sliding scale.—Where it lands him.—His hint to the Roman Catholics to renew the agitation for Separate Schools.—Is prepared to go further than any other man to meet them.

These declarations are very explicit, as well as those of Mr. McGee in his speech quoted in my seventh letter, and show how groundless and deceptive are your professions as to your McGee alliance being intended to "put an end to Separate Schools." With the promise to you of office and its emoluments, they have got you to take two steps in their direction—first to admit that the Separate School question is a very difficult one, though you used to insist upon it as a very simple one—that it is "attended with very great difficulties," though you could not see it so when others were in power. Secondly—to "adopt an honorable compromise," which is, in other words, giving up the principle of abolishing Separate Schools. Having thus adroitly got you on the sliding scale, they have only one thing more to do, and that is, to claim the application of the principles which you have yourself laid down, and from which you cannot now recede. As "coming events cast their shadows before," you thus express this principle in the *Globe* as early as the 5th of May:

"The existing clauses are not adequate to the full carrying out of the separate system, and the Roman Catholics are perfectly right in asserting that while they are promised sectarian schools, they are not permitted to have such machinery as would make them fully operative, and they naturally and reasonably ask for an extension of privilege, in order to give effect to the principle conceded to them. This Dr. Ryerson refuses, with very little show of reason, though his course would be quite right and proper, did he object to the whole separate school system, as we do. Whilst advocating the sectarian plan he cannot consistently refuse the further demands on the part of Roman Catholics."*

are so industriously fanning at every election! Two passages from this manifesto are given: the first to show that a victory is claimed by the Brown-McGee alliance in the late election of Mr. Brown for Toronto; the other, that the McGee party do not consider the Cartier Government as their "natural allies," in the words of Mr. Thibaudan (page 69), for the extension of Separate Schools: "We have lately fought in our City two great battles for constitutional liberty—one *Parliamentary* [i.e., Mr. Brown's election], and one *Municipal*—and we won them both. We never could have done so, as you well know, without the honest and cordial co-operation of ALL true reformers of every religious persuasion; and by the two victories we have won, we hope you will consider us privileged to address you on the eve of your Parliamentary contest." "We have no confidence in GEORGE E. CARTIER, who first approved and then 'barked' our School Bill, who was visited with severe ecclesiastical censure; and who has never sought to be reconciled to his Church, since he broke faith with her Bishops." Mr. Brown has heretofore declared that the candidate supported by the *Roman Catholics* was not only the *Romanist* candidate, but the enemy to the rights and interests of Upper Canada. See Appendix. The N. Wellington election shows this.

* Yet on the 18th of March, 1857, the *Globe* editor emphatically states that—"The Roman Catholics

Then in your long letter to me you say :

"Do you fancy for a moment that the extreme advocates for Separate Schools will rest content with the system as it now stands—and can we honestly meet their demands on the false ground you and your 'allies' have led us into—that is, admit the principle of separation, and yet deny its free operation."

Now, Sir, in May last, in the above quotation, you hinted to the Roman Catholics that they ought to renew an agitation from which they had desisted two years—that I was using them badly, and that with their views they ought to demand more than had been granted to them. In July, you make an "honorable compromise"—that is, you give up the principle of abolishing Separate Schools, as the supporters of them would not agree to their abolition; and in December you pretend that you cannot "honestly" object to their demand for further concessions, upon the false ground on which you "have been led" (poor simple man!) by me and my "allies" to deny the operation of a principle which we have admitted. And this is the pretext you employ to justify and cover your larger concessions to the supporters of Separate Schools than have ever been made.

96. Mr. Brown's wink and his feigned terror understood by the *True Witness*.—The characteristic strategem of the crafty politician.

You now charge me and my "allies" with "retarding" and "resisting" the operations of Separate Schools, while no longer since than the 6th of December, in the first of your recent attacks upon me, you charge the Government and myself with making such concessions to the supporters of Separate Schools by the Acts of 1851, 1852, and 1855, that "Separate Schools had gone on yearly increasing in

of Canada have privileges nowhere else enjoyed on this continent—privileges superior to Protestants—but they are not satisfied. They have their own schools; under their own Trustees; they share the public educational grant equally with Protestants; they are exempted from local School Taxes if they choose to apply for such exemption according to law; but yet they are not satisfied. They boast of such privileges abroad, but are complaining of their grievances at home."

Again, this very same paper, the *Globe* of November 24, 1857, in reprinting the famous correspondence of 1855 between the Roman Catholic Bishops and the members of the Government, writes as follows on this same subject:—"Our readers know already the falsehood of the pretence that Roman Catholics only desire the same in Upper Canada as Protestants receive in Lower Canada. In Lower Canada the Protestants are generally rich and the mass of the Roman Catholics poor; the latter have, therefore, no objection, but, on the contrary, have every reason to desire that monies should be divided between the common and separate schools according to population, because they thereby receive a large amount of Protestant money for their own priest-taught schools. In Upper Canada the dissentient Roman Catholics are poor, yet they demand from the school fund, contributed by wealthy Protestants, an allowance in proportion to their population. By the application of this rule they rob the Protestants both in Upper and Lower Canada."

an enormous ratio"—so much so as to endanger the integrity of the public school system itself!* Thus your attacks, your denials, your assertions and your self-contradictions are but cuttle fish ejections to divert attention from, and conceal, and hereafter justify your new course in favor of Separate Schools. The "foreign element" of the Catholic Hierarchy (of which Mr. McGee is the organ), clearly understand that your occasional touches at their order and your protests of desire to "put an end to Separate Schools," are only so many decoys to your unsuspecting readers, until you can carry out more avowedly the object of your "compromise," and the signals above given in favor of larger concessions to Separate Schools than have been granted. Thus in the *Montreal True Witness* of the 14th instant, the Editor says:—

"The Rev. Mr. Ryerson, in spite of a few ambiguous phrases, and the cant of a feigned liberty, is as much the enemy of Separate Schools, as he was in days gone by; and, indeed, as compared with Mr. George Brown, we look upon him as a far more dangerous enemy of the two—and that because of his assumed candor and hypocritical expressions of good will towards these institutions. This shall be evident from an analysis of his Report, and of his arguments in favor of the School law 'as it is'."—"We shall content ourselves for the present with laying before our readers the most striking features of the Educational Statistics of Upper Canada; together with the Rev. Mr. Ryerson's comments thereon. From these it shall, we think, be evident, that though his mode of expressing his opposition, has slightly varied, his opposition to these institutions is still as bitter as ever."

Thus the very Report for which you attacked me as supporting Separate Schools and defending the system on account of my "political allies in the Government," is assailed by the *True Witness* as evincing "my bitter opposition" to Separate Schools, while he regards you as much more favorable to them than myself!

99. The "foreign element" patronized—Challenge to Mr. Brown to prove the inadequacy of the Separate School law.—That law a "finality" with Hon. J. Sanfield Macdonald.

And now, Sir, I call upon you, nay, I challenge you, to state wherein the "existing clauses and provisions are not adequate to the full carrying out of the separate system" and "retard" and "deny" the "free operation" of separate schools. I have, not only in my "Special Report on Separate Schools," but in my Annual Reports and official correspondence with

* In the Brown-McGee manifesto to the electors of North Wellington, Feb., 1859, the Hon. Attorney General Cartier is denounced for having "burked" the Separate School Bill of 1855! (See page 62, and the note to the last extract in the Appendix.)

Members of the Government, shown that the Roman Catholic supporters of separate Schools in Upper Canada, are placed upon an equal footing with the Protestant supporters of dissentient schools in Lower Canada, but I have resisted their demands, or rather the demands of certain foreign priests, for more than is possessed by our Protestant brethren in Lower Canada. You have republished, endorsed and lauded my arguments against these aggressions. You allege in the *Globe* of the 6th of December, the concessions already made to be so great, that "Separate Schools have gone on yearly increasing in an enormous ratio," and in the *Globe* of the 16th of December, the very number in which you assert, in your letter to me, that while the law "admits the principle of separation, denies its free operation," you assert, editorially, that "the increase in the common schools is very great, but the increase in the separate is more than twenty times greater." Thus, Sir, you are already reduced to such extremities, that you cannot play out your double game, for even a single number of the *Globe*, without contradicting in one column what you assert in another. Such concessions as you have hinted at as due to the supporters of Separate Schools, are certainly not only greater than have been made, but such as would really endanger the integrity of our public school system. In all fairness and honesty to the public, you are bound to show wherein the position of the Roman Catholic supporters of separate schools in Upper Canada is inferior to that of Protestant supporters of dissentient schools in Lower Canada, and that what you have formerly said to the contrary is untrue, or acknowledged that you have not only been performing an act, but practicing a system of "double shuffle," in order to deceive your Protestant readers on the one side, and hold out the hope of a larger concessions to the supporters of separate schools on the other. Sir, if "a double-minded man is unstable in all his ways," a double-dealing man is dishonest in all his ways. In what advantageous contrast to your crooked proceedings, appears the straightforward declaration of the Hon. J. Sanfield Macdonald, when in the last debate in the Legislative Assembly on the separate school question, (23rd June) he said:—"the present law should be a finality; he would go for nothing more on either side."*

* On account of this opinion Mr. Brown's "ally" from Lower Canada (Mr. McGee), is selected (page 62) to present a petition from the Roman Catholics of Glenarry in favour of the extension of Separate Schools! Just the very thing the Brown-McGee alliance was formed to destroy for ever, if Mr. Brown is to be believed!

100. Fourth proposition proved.—Mr. Brown on the sliding scale to exclude the Bible from the Schools.

4. But, Sir, this is not all. You, a son of Scotland, have even consented to turn Scotland's Bible out of our schools, in order to accomplish your purpose—a statement almost incredible were not the evidence of it irresistible. But I now proceed to shew, in the fourth place, that you have advanced so far on the sliding scale of "compromise" as to assent to and virtually to advocate the exclusion of the Bible from our schools. I have made no parade on this subject. The letter which I addressed to Mr. Baldwin, 14th July, 1849, and from which extracts were made in the sixth of my present series of letters, shews the views which I entertained on the subject at that time, which I had incorporated in our school system, and for which I was prepared to sacrifice my office; but that letter remained as one of the documents printed by order of the Legislature, and was never before published by me. The views expressed in that letter are my views still, and explain our school system as it is in respect of the Bible in schools as fully as they explain my introduction of it in 1846. The principal opposition I then, and for several years afterwards encountered, was that I did not make the use of the Bible compulsory in the schools, but simply recognised the right of Protestants to use it in the school, (not as an ordinary reading book, as it was not given to teach us how to read, but teach us the way to Heaven,) as a book of religious instruction, without the right or the power of compelling any others to use it. The recognition of the right has been maintained inviolate to the present time; facilities for the exercise of it have been provided, and recommendations for that purpose have been given, but no compulsory authority assumed, or the right of compulsion acknowledged; and the religious exercises in each school have been left to the decision of the authorities of such school, and the religious instruction of each child has always been under the absolute authority of the parent or the guardian of each child. The result has been that while the Holy Scriptures are read in no less than 2415 of our schools, besides the schools in which the exercises are directed by Roman Catholic authorities, there has not been, on an average, one complaint per year in all Upper Canada, as to interference with personal or parental rights in matters of religious exercises or instruction. Even you yourself have been compelled to bear testimony in this feature of our school system.

101. Mr. Brown denounces Dr. Ryerson for maintaining even the abstract right of reading the Bible in the schools—What is right in May is wrong in July!

In the *Globe* of the 14th of last May you say—

"In regard to religious instruction in the schools, we know of no better system than that which prevails in Upper Canada, of permitting each section to regulate matters for itself. We assert that in no single case under that system have the consciences of parents been offended, nor has the faith of any one been tampered with. Dr. Ryerson knows this, and he knows that the same system could be quite as efficiently carried out if separate schools were abolished. He knows that separate schools exist in but a few sections—that in all others, Protestant and Catholic meet on common ground, and that no practical difficulties have occurred to the working out of an unsectarian system.—And yet he must, like a Gowan, or some other miserable political trickster, who desires a pretext for bowing down to the priest party *set up the abstract right of reading the Bible in the Schools* as an excuse for supporting the separate system."

Thus from your testimony in May last, the regulations of our school system, in regard to both religious exercise and religious instruction, were quite satisfactory, and needed no modification whatever, even in the event of the entire abolition of the Separate Schools; while in the July following, in view of getting into office, and making the school system an agency of party power in the Government, as you had done in the county elections, you found those very regulations so very defective, that you agreed to send to Ireland [and, as it now turns out, to Belgium and to Prussia, (whose hated "despotism" you so long and loudly denounced before the alliance)] to inquire for a remedy for them! What was right in May was wrong in July; what was perfect in May needed a European mission in July to make it perfect. The change was not in the regulations or in the school system during that eventful three months, but in *your* party position and policy.

102. Concession to the new alliance—Bible read in 2415 Schools in U. C.—Recreant son of Scotland.

And here "coming events still casting their shadows before," as you had found in the *Globe* of the 6th of May, for the first time in your life, that "the existing clauses are not adequate to the full carrying out of the separate school system, and the Roman Catholics are perfectly right in asserting that while they are promised sectarian schools, they are not permitted to have such machinery as would make them fully operative, and they naturally and reasonably ask for an extension of the privilege, in order to give effect to the principle conceded to them;" so, in the *Globe* of the

14th May, you discovered that "setting up the abstract right of reading the Bible in the schools" was "an excuse for supporting the separate system" and "a pretext for bowing down to the priest party," though that right was asserted at large in my first school report in 1846, and reasserted as the conditions of my retaining office in 1849, and recognised and exercised in an increasing ratio up to 2415 schools during ten years without interruption or objection, until you mooted it with a view of obtaining, through Mr. McGee, the support of that very "priest party." And now, Sir, upon the altar of petty personal ambition and avarice, you are ready to sacrifice that "right of reading the Bible in our schools," the exercise of which has been one of the glories of our school system, as well as that of Scotland—a right, Sir, for which myriads of your Scotch forefathers would have shed, and some did shed, their heart's blood, and the proposed abandonment of which by one of their recreant sons, would, if possible, awaken them from their martyr graves.

103. Mr. Brown's objections to the use of the Bible in the Schools, quoted and answered—Excels all the "poor cravens" in his "slavish submission," etc.

But you shall speak more explicitly on this subject for yourself. In reply to the Bible allusion in my letter of the 11th of May, above quoted, you say in the *Globe* of the 14th of May, as follows:—

"The reverend gentleman advocates the maintenance of the separate system, because, by that means, the Bible may be preserved as a text-book in the common schools. He knows as well as we do how little the Bible is read in the schools under the present system, how often it is read in a merely formal and perfunctory manner, without any real benefit being derived from it by the pupils; he knows how utterly unfit a majority of the teachers are to give religious instruction; he knows that this cry for the Bible in the schools is constantly used by men who have no regard for religion or the Bible, but simply desire to excuse their slavish submission to the Roman hierarchy; he knows that the cry is a *sham*, unworthy of a man who understands so well, and has apparently felt so deeply, the necessity for elementary education among the masses of the people. We are not of those who would deprecate the value of the Bible; we desire to see it in every house, and in the hands of every child; but we are not of those who desire to use the hearty love of it prevailing among the people as a weapon of offence against secular education."

By referring to the passage of my letter above quoted, it will be seen that I do not speak of the Bible as a common text-book in the schools, but of "securing to each Protestant parent the right of the Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for his

CHILD IN THE SCHOOL. Now many a parent may not exercise the right of using the Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for his child in school, but would even any such parent (much less every Protestant parent) be willing, as you argue, to be deprived of that right? Many a freeholder or householder may not exercise his right as a voter, but would he, or ought he, therefore, to be deprived of the right of voting.

With the usual inaccuracy of the *Globe*, you say the Bible is little read in the schools, when the statistical returns of Trustees and Local Superintendents, for 1857, reveal the following facts, thus embodied and remarked upon on the 6th page of my last report:—

"The daily exercises of 1859—schools were opened and closed with prayers—*increase 548.* The Bible and Testament were used in 2,415 schools—*increase 561*; the largest increase under these two heads during any year since the establishment of the school system, and much more than would be effected by a compulsory law. *Recommendations and facilities* in regard to the exercise of religious duties and privileges are more in harmony with the genius of our people and of our free government than assumptions of command and attempts at compulsion."

Now, Sir, under the pretext of abolishing 100 separate schools out of 3700 common schools, you would abolish the "right of reading the Bible" in these 2415 schools, and take away from every Protestant parent in Upper Canada, "the right of the Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for his child in the school!"

Then you object to the use of the Bible in the schools because it is "often read in a formal and perfunctory manner, without any real benefit to be derived from it by the pupils." Is not the Bible often read in the family and even in the Church "in a formal and perfunctory manner," without any real benefit to either reader or hearers; but will you, therefore, take away even "the abstract right of reading the Bible" in the family and in the Church!

You also object to the reading of the Bible in the schools because "a majority of the teachers are utterly unfit to give religious instruction." The reading of the Bible and giving religious instruction from it are two very different things. The question is not the competency of teachers to give religious instruction, but the right of a Protestant to the reading of the Bible by his child in the school as a text-book of religious instruction. That right I hold to be sacred and divine. That right even in the "abstract" you object to.

Again, you oppose the right of the Bible in the schools, because the cry for it "is constantly used by men who have no regard for religion, but simply desire to excuse their slavish submission to the Romish hierarchy." Whether you have more regard for religion than those whom you impugn, I do not presume to decide. Your argument seems to imply that you have as good an opinion of yourself in that respect as your "political ally," Mr. McGee, had when he wrote the sublime poetry quoted in my seventh letter. But be that as it may, it is a fact, as proved in my last (eighth) letter, that you have already excelled all other public men in Upper Canada in your "slavish submission to the Romish hierarchy," and to purchase that support is the very object for which you abandon the profession of your past life, and for which you would sell the right of the Protestant parents of Upper Canada to the use of the Bible in the schools, as a text book of religious instruction for their children!

104. Mr. Brown's pretence—His condescension!

You profess to be "not of those who would depreciate the value of the Bible;" you "desire to see it in every house, and in the hands of every child." It is very well you informed us that you value the Bible, as the reverse would be inferred from your other remarks. You condescend to desire to see the Bible in every house and in the hands of every child. It is somewhat remarkable that you reserved as much as this, that for the sake of ratifying your "submission to the Romish hierarchy," you did not give up the "abstract right of reading the Bible" in the family and by the child at home, as well as in the school. But, in proportion as a man values the Bible, will he maintain the right of his children to read it as well as read it himself? How then can you value the Bible when you propose to deprive every Protestant parent in Upper Canada of the "right of the Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for his child at school!"

105. Mr. Brown regards "the cry for the Bible in the Schools" as a sham—Appeal against so disgraceful a "compromise."

Furthermore, you speak of the "cry for the Bible in the schools as a SHAM." Sir, I leave those Protestant parents who value the Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for their children at school, and those who value the "right" of reading the Bible in the schools, to answer so outrageous an insult—so gross an act of treason against their sacred principles and rights. Apart from religious instruction, apart from even the reading of the Bible in the

schools, the right of having it there—its very presence there is not “a sham,” but a sign, a symbol of potent significance. The sign of the Cross, which graces the title-page of the excellent *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, is not a “sham,” but a symbol precious to the hearts of hundreds of thousands of our Lower Canadian brethren; the coat of arms which stands at the head of all royal patents, and the sparkling crown which encircles the brow of royalty, are not “a sham,” but a symbol which speaks more than words to every British heart; the standard that waves at the head of the regiment, and the flag that floats at the ship’s mast head are not “a sham,” but a symbol that nerves the soldier and the sailor to duty and to victory. So the Bible, Sir, is not “a sham,” but a symbol of right and liberty dear to the heart of every Protestant freeman, to every lover of civil and religious liberty—a standard of truth and morals, the foundation of Protestant faith and the rule of Protestant morals; and “the cry” for the Bible in the schools is not a “sham,” but a felt necessity of the religious instructor, whether he be the teacher or a visiting superintendent or clergyman,—is the birthright of the Protestant child, and the inalienable right of the Protestant parent. I repeat again, that it would be incredible, were not the evidence of it indubitable, that Scotland’s son should be the first, if not only consenting Protestant in Upper Canada to wresting from Protestant parents the right to Scotland’s “Bible as a text-book of religious instruction for their children in the school!”*

106 “No surrender” on this subject by Dr. Ryerson—Extract from the eloquent Melville.

Sir, as to myself, I have no new professions or “compromises” to make on this subject. I explained my views at large, in my letter of ten years ago, to Mr. Baldwin, as quoted in the sixth of this series of letters. I have only to repeat in 1859 what I said, and rested my official position upon, in 1849: “I have not assumed it to be the duty or even constitutional right of the Government to compel anything in respect either to religious books or religious instruction, but to recommend the local Trustees to do so, and to provide powers and facilities to enable them to do so within the wise restrictions imposed by law. I have respected the rights and scruples of the

Roman Catholic as well as those of the Protestant. By some I have been accused of having too friendly a feeling towards the Roman Catholics; but while I would do nothing to infringe the rights and feelings of Roman Catholics, I cannot be a party to depriving Protestants of the Text-book of their faith—the choicest patrimony bequeathed by their forefathers, and the noblest birthright of their children.—I think there is too little Christianity in our Schools, instead of too much; and that the united efforts of all Christian men should be to introduce more, instead of excluding what little there is.” The last twelve years are my witness that no man attaches more importance than I do to secular education and knowledge, and few men have labored more to provide for the teaching and diffusion of every branch of it; yet, so far am I from ignoring the Bible, even in an intellectual point of view, that I hesitate not to say, in the language of the eloquent Melville, that “whilst every stripling is boasting that a great enlargement of mind is coming on the nation, through the pouring into all its dwellings a tide of general information, it is right to uphold the forgotten position, that in caring for man as an immortal being, God cared for him as an intellectual, and that if the Bible were but read by our artisans and our peasantry, we should be surrounded by a far more enlightened and intelligent population, than will appear to this land, when the school-master, with his countless magazines, shall have gone through it, in its length and its breadth.”

107. Regulations of the Irish Board on Religious Instruction.

I will only add that your objections to the right of Protestants to the Bible in our schools, are at variance with the Regulations of the National Board of Education in Ireland, which, however, counteracted by recent practice against Protestants [as I shall show in my next letter] are still retained in the General Rules, in the following words:

“The patrons and managers of all National Schools have the right to permit the Holy Scriptures (either in the authorised or Douay version) to be read at the time or times set apart for religious instruction; and in all Vested Schools (that is public schools) the parents and guardians of children have a right to require the patrons and managers to afford opportunities for reading the Holy Scriptures, in the school room, under proper persons approved of by the parents and guardians for that purpose.”

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, January 22, 1859.

* According to Mr. Brown’s new alliance doctrine all the celebrated popular cries in history might (and no doubt were by the Brown-McGees of the day) set down as mere shams; thus the “cry for the Bible” after its translation, and the cry of the Covenanters for life and liberty, were nothing but shams, and should never have been listened to!

No. X.—Folly of Mr. Brown's School Statesmanship —Invites interference from Lower Canada, although he is fenced out of it himself by "checks," "assurances," and "guarantees."

108. Object of this letter.—What it is designed to prove.

SIR,—The object of this letter is to show what course of proceeding statesmanship and prudence would have dictated to you in your cabinet negotiations or school programme of last July ; to correct your statements as to the acceptableness of the system of education in Ireland to all denominations ; to justify by facts and authorities what you term my "spitting forth my dishonest blast against the Irish national system ;" to remark upon Lower Canada interference with the School Laws of Upper Canada ; and to explain my own position and what I believe to be the proper course of proceeding by all parties in regard to Separate Schools and the Separate School provisions of the law in Upper Canada.

109. Mr. Brown's utter want of statesmanship as compared with British statesmen.

Sir, a very small modicum of statesmanship and prudence would have suggested to you in July last, that there is considerable difference between a private member of Parliament and a Minister of the Crown, and that many things which would be proper for the former would be very improper for the latter—that the crotchets and hates of the opposition partizan are not exactly the programme for a Prime Minister. The biography of British statesmen abounds in examples of men advocating as private members of Parliament many measures which they never thought of making cabinet questions on their becoming responsible Ministers of the Crown. Lord Macaulay advocated the ballot as a private member of Parliament, but he did not make its adoption a condition of his joining a Government. Mr. Baines was a voluntary in both religion and education as an individual member of Parliament ; but he did not insist on the abolition of Church and State union, and of all grants for educational purposes as a condition of serving his Sovereign and country in the capacity of Minister of State. When a member of Parliament, and especially an opposition leader, is called, in consequence of some parliamentary vote, to take the reins of Government, he does not do so to gratify every whim or passion he may have indulged, but to pursue especially that policy indicated by the vote or votes which led to his elevation to office. And a statesman

may sometimes be driven from power by an adverse vote of Parliament on a question, and may afterwards be recalled to power by the decisions of Parliament on other questions, and yet never revive the question of his former defeat. A striking and suggestive example of this is furnished by Lord John Russell, who, many years since, advocated the secularization of a portion of the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland—made it a Cabinet question, in consequence of which Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby) seceded from his government and party. Lord John Russell's Administration was defeated by an adverse vote of a small majority of the House of Commons, and he resigned. The succeeding Government soon became unpopular in its turn, and Lord John Russell was recalled to power. When interrogated as to what he was going to do on the Irish Church question, his Lordship replied in effect that his own views and convictions on the subject remained unchanged, but a majority of the House of Commons had decided against him, and he had witnessed no dissatisfaction in the country to any extent with that decision ; that the recent issues of parties had not turned upon that question, and he did not feel it his duty to make it a portion of the policy of his Administration, or revive the discussion of it. How much more proud and patriotic would have been your position had you, in July last, adopted the spirit of Lord John Russell's example. How reasonable and appropriate would it have been for you to have said, that although your views and convictions remained unchanged on the subject of Separate Schools,—and although you had as a member of Parliament and editor sought their abolition ; yet that the House of Assembly, by a majority of more than two to one, had recently decided against their abolition, and you had observed no expression of dissatisfaction in the country with that vote ; and therefore, you did not think it advisable to make it a Cabinet question—reserving to yourself the right to deal with the question hereafter, if circumstances should appear to render it expedient. But, no, Sir, you had no respect for the decision of so large a majority of the Legislative Assembly ; nor for the manifest acquiescence of the country in that decision ; nor for the opinion of those who

had most to do with the school system, nor for its non-political party character; you had a hobby to ride, and a party purpose to accomplish, and everything must be sacrificed to that whim and this object—evinced your want of both statesmanship and patriotism.

110. Mr. Brown's weakness and folly in his school negotiations of July, 1886.

Then the absence of these first qualities of a public man is still more manifest in your negotiations themselves. You did not consult your colleagues from Upper Canada as to whether the abolition of the separate schools should be made a Cabinet question; you seemed to have ignored them as well as the other representatives from Upper Canada on this exclusively Upper Canada question; and you rushed at once into a negotiation on this question, first with Mr. Dorion and then with Mr. Drummond—two Lower Canada members—after you had for years denounced any Lower Canada dictation or interference in the school affairs of Upper Canada. Then if it had been the real object of Messrs. Dorion and Drummond to make fun of you, and hold you up to public derision and contempt, they could not have done it more effectually than they have done.

111. Mr. Brown outwitted—Is fenced out of Lower Canada by checks, guarantees, and assurances.

In the first place they determine that, like an unruly animal, you shall not be allowed to intrude into the civil or religious premises of Lower Canada. They made you agree to do (and some say bound you in writing to do) what no Upper Canada member had ever been compelled or asked to do, and what no Upper Canada member had ever degraded himself by promising to do—namely, not to interfere with any of their civil or religious institutions. They fenced you out of Lower Canada by what Mr. Drummond calls "assurance," and Mr. Dorion terms "checks," and Mr. Thibaudeau describes as "guarantees." Mr. Thibaudeau (Minister of Agriculture) says, in his address to his constituents of Portneuf, "I would promise nothing before having all the necessary GUARANTEES that ALL OUR CIVIL and religious institutions

should be respected and protected.* Messrs. Dorion and Drummond having thus made you consent to be handcuffed in regard to both the "civil and religious" institutions of Lower Canada—all those sectarian colleges, and tithes and ~~maneries~~, which you had so often declared ought to be abolished—the same Messrs. Dorion and Drummond immediately step over into Upper Canada, and make you agree to "a compromise on the question of Separate Schools"—a question on which you had declared, for years, there should be no "tampering" or "compromise." They do not seem to have made you do quite all that is attributed to Spencer's Parasite.

"To fawn, to crouch, to walk, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone"—

but they made you do enough to evince the immense superiority of the French diplomat and shrewd Irishman over the boasting and noisy Scotchman—so wanting in the characteristic sagacity and prudence of his countrymen, who must feel themselves disappointed and chagrined at such an exhibition of diplomatic weakness and folly. Sir,

Government which I had not believed disposed to do full and entire justice to the Catholics of Upper Canada, whether by the system of Separate Schools OR ANY OTHER SYSTEM WHICH WOULD HAVE HAD THE SAME OBJECT, and would have been accepted by competent authorities in religious matters; and on this point as on that of representation, my ideas are and my conduct will be the same as heretofore." The fact that this administration counted six Catholics among its members was proof that Catholicism would have justice. In the present administration there are but three Catholics; and what is more, one of its members, the Hon. Mr. Galt, voted for representation based upon population in 1886. Is it just, is it reasonable to make it so great a crime in the Liberals [Clear Grits] of Upper Canada to hold an opinion which is entertained by those who support the present Government, and to acquit, so to speak, those of all blame, when in fact, they are more fanatical on these several questions than the Opposition party; the proof of which is to be found in the presentation of a bill to abolish Separate Schools by Mr. Fergusson, (a Ministerialist) who has already this year, given notice of a similar Bill, and that on representation, presented by Mr. Cameron, another Ministerialist. And these are the honorable members whom they would have us believe are the defenders of our religion and our nationality, while nearly the whole of them belong to a society which has sworn death to Catholics and their institutions.

"Since the last Session, Orangeism, which is predominant in the Cabinet, has shown itself in its nakedness by injuring (by means of Ministerial journals) the Catholics and the Clergy, because some of them supported Mr. Brown in the late re-election for Toronto [Not only 'supported' but claim his election as a victory! See page 62].

"The same journals have attempted to make the Irish Catholics rise in insubordination [insurrection] against those generous and devoted French Priests, who have voluntarily left their own country to consecrate themselves to the salvation of people belonging to another nation. Compare this conduct with that of the Liberals [Clear Grits] of Toronto, in the municipal elections, who for the first time, have elected five Roman Catholics, while the Ministerial party refused, in public assembly, to do as much; [?] Judge impartially and say where our NATURAL ALLIES are to be found; turn up the GLOBE, since the last Session, and you WILL BE CONVINCED THAT ITS HOSTILITY AGAINST THE CATHOLICS HAS CHANGED!" [C]

* "In the men forming the administration in which I took part, (says Mr. Thibaudeau, in the corrected version of his recent speech on the Address in the House of Assembly, translated in the *Leader* from the *Quebec National*), I had the guarantee that the question of representation would not be adjusted in a manner contrary to the interests of the part of the country which I more especially represent, (Lower Canada,) for of the twelve Executive Councillors, seven were entirely, and had always voted against representation based upon population. *It was the same with regard to Separate Schools; and my past conduct is there to prove to my friends, and to the country in general, that I would never have consented to form part of a*

your statesmanship and patriotism in July last, on school matters in Upper Canada, and the "civil and religious institutions of Lower Canada," seem only to find their counterpart in your onslaughts upon the judges of the land, and your vindictive controversy with me, especially in your falsification of my reports.

112. Mr. Brown's sacrifice of the right of Upper Canada to manage her own School affairs.

You had no protection to ask for Upper Canada. You had not the sagacity or courage to say to Messrs. Dorion and Drummond, that if they bound you not to interfere with the civil and religious institutions

of Lower Canada, they must agree not to interfere with those of Upper Canada, and therefore that the system of education in Upper Canada must be under the exclusive control of the ministers and members from Upper Canada. You conceded the double majority principle in favor of the civil and religious institutions of Lower Canada, but had not the spirit even to ask the same principle of protection in favor of the civil and religious institutions of Upper Canada. * So

* But Mr. Brown, who agreed that a "check" should be included in any measure of "Representation by Population," so as to protect inviolate "the civil and religious institutions" of Lower Canada, actually advocated that measure in previous years with the express view of overthrowing the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, and upon that ground excited numerous Protestants in Upper Canada to favor it, upon the same ground that he excited them against the Separate School Provisions of the law. One primary object proposed by Mr. Brown in advocating representation by population is sufficiently proved by two quotations alone,—the one from a Montreal paper, and the other from Mr. Brown's reply to that paper. In a long editorial on the subject the Montreal *Commercial Advertiser*, of the 21st Sept., 1855, says, "Had the question of Representation by Population been placed before the country on its own merits, apart from the *delated intention to use it as an aggressive weapon against the Church of Rome*, as the means of forcing on the Lower Canadians repulsive legislation, and of giving an Upper Canada character to our trade relations; had it been brought forward in a statesmanlike manner, and argued as such a question should have been, calmly and argumentatively, instead of being initiated with the violence of sectarian bigotry, of sectional jealousy, and boastful pride,—its reception in Lower Canada would have been very different." In the *Globe's* lengthened editorial, headed, "Just Representation or Dissolution of the Union," replying to the Montreal *Commercial Advertiser*, and other English newspapers of Lower Canada, Mr. Brown uses the following words:—

"We are somewhat astonished to find the English newspapers of Lower Canada, particularly of Montreal, disposed to object to the demand of Upper Canada for just representation. We are convinced that the opposition does not come from the intelligent people, but rather from the hacks, suborned by Ministers for their ends. A few Lower Canadians of British origin have been *base enough to sell themselves to the base combination of French Priests and Upper Canadian high Churchmen*, and, to their shame be it said, they are men who lately opposed the former class vehemently. They see personal loss to themselves in Upper Canada obtaining her just rights, and hence resist it. But the British population of Lower Canada, *who detest the Priest domination under which they exist*, who feel themselves checked by the antiquated system which surrounds them, who have no personal favors to ask from Government, what can they hope to gain by refusing to Upper Canada representation by population?" "Surely the Liberals of Lower Canada are as much interested in that effort as we are ourselves. They will be more benefitted by it than we by the *ABOLITION of a system which covers the land with monasteries and nunneries—which leaves property to rot in mortmain—which retards education—which prevents agricultural improvement—which dries up the life and industry of the people. This system is seen in full force in Lower Canada; in the Upper Province it is only beginning to exercise its baneful influence, and never will get beyond its present point, if the people can stop it. Let the Lower Canadian Liberal*

answer, then, who will gain most by the *abolition of the Priest power which rules the Province*!" "We thought the Protestant people of Montreal dreaded the power of the Hierarchy, which has already destroyed the liberty of speech in their cities, and scattered their streets with blood, and would not willingly cut their connexions with their natural allies in opposing its power. If the *Commercial Advertiser* is correct, then we are mistaken."

Yes, after thus appealing to and exciting a large portion of the Protestant people of Upper Canada in favor of Representation by Population, Mr. Brown in order to obtain office, secretly agreed to "checks" and "guarantees" by which all the "civil and religious institutions of Lower Canada" should be protected from the operation of the principle of Representation by Population. It is thus seen that Mr. Brown not only falsified what he had professed in educational matters, not only betrayed, as is shown by the last extracts in the Appendix, the Orangemen and their Association, after having advocated the incorporation of the latter, and being elected to Parliament by the former, but that in his negotiations on the question of Representation by Population, he deceived and betrayed the Protestant people of Upper Canada at large.

* "On the vexed question of schools, the Brown-Dorion Government also agreed to come before the House with a policy. *It had of course, only relation to Upper Canada*, for in Lower Canada, the present system, though not the best, was yet working as advantageously as could be expected. In Upper Canada great difficulties existed, and still exist, in this School Question. Neither Protestants nor Catholics were satisfied; and in order to found a system which should as nearly as possible supply the general want, it was agreed that enquiries should be made into the systems prevailing in Belgium, Ireland, Prussia, [Oh! the Prussian despotism!] and other countries where the same difficulties had arisen, and had been settled."—*Speech of the Hon. Mr. Dorion in the House of Assembly, 2nd February, 1859, Leader Report.*

It is singular that this is the first intimation the public in Upper Canada have had of the determination of the Brown-Dorion Government to obtain from Prussia a modification of our School system. Time was when on such an intimation being made by any party but his own Cabinet, Mr. Brown would have made the Province ring with loud appeals against *Prussian despotism!* or even any importation whatever from Prussia. This is no doubt one cause of his entire silence on this subject, and his anxiety at the University *defence* to prevent Dr. Byerson from exposing the folly of his School Statesmanship. [See the note on the dictation of the Prussian Government in regard to religious instruction in Schools, appended to the postscript of letter XII.]

"The question of National Education in Upper Canada also received full consideration. While I contended on one hand against sectarian education and in favor of one uniform system of instruction and management for the common schools, my hon. friend on the other hand urged that a large section of the people desired a larger amount of religious instruction for their children than was obtained in the national schools. After much discussion we arrived at the conviction that we could bring down to Parliament a measure which by giving increased religious instruction would enable us to discontinue separate schools with the assent of all reasonable men in Parliament and out of it. Not a system of sectarian instruction—but recognizing only those broad principles

absorbed do you seem to have been with the one idea of Premiership, that you forgot Upper Canada protection, rights and institutions in, not your statesmanship, but your parasitism with Messrs. Dorion and Drummond, who diplomatically twisted you round their little fingers. The gambols of a hippopotamus are not more awkward and ludicrous, than were your diplomatic exploits with the shrewd men of Lower Canada; and they would be simply laughable were they not pernicious to Upper Canada.

113. Mr. Brown's ignorance in accepting Mr. McGee's false statement as to the popularity in Ireland of the Irish national system.

But in your adopting the idea of Mr. McGee's dictation to make a school importation from Ireland, you evinced ignorance as well as folly. As to the popularity of the Irish system of education, both you and Mr. Dorion seem to have relied upon the authority of Mr. McGee, who has shown himself a superficial pretender in the Irish system as well as in many other things—except poetry. In addressing the electors of Toronto, you say, "I am not intimately acquainted with the details of the Irish system, but I know the Presbyterians of Ulster, and the Church of England, and the Roman hierarchy do unite in sustaining that system." Mr. Dorion, in his address to the electors of Montreal, says that, "the National Schools of Ireland are approved alike by the Catholic and Protestant Clergy of all denominations." Mr. McGee, in his speech at London, says the National system in Ireland "has won the approbation of the majority of parents and pastors of all denominations in Ireland"—a threefold statement abundantly refuted by the evidence in my last annual report. Mr. McGee stated also, in his speech of the 23rd of June, in the House of Assembly, when he first dictated the importation from Ireland that "there the Priest was always the visitor, and usually the *patron* of the school, and two afternoons in the week are set apart for religious instructions."

114. Mr. McGee's statement only true so far as it relates to the Priest being the school patron and visitor—The "foreign element."

Now the only part of Mr. McGee's statement which is correct, is that which relates to the Priest being the visitor and patron of the School. Priests and all clergy are *ex-officio* visitors of the schools in Upper Canada, but have no authority to remove

or introduce text-books, or interfere with the course of instruction. But no Priest or Clergyman is the *Patron* of a mixed or Separate School in Upper Canada; and Mr. McGee in desiring to introduce this feature of the Irish system, shows himself an enemy to the rights of the laity of his own church, with whom, as freeholders and householders, rests the patronage of the schools, and the Priest if he is a patron or trustee of the School at all, is only so by the suffrages of the parents of children, and as long as they see fit to elect him. This feature of the separate school system of Upper Canada is peculiarly distasteful, especially to the "foreign ecclesiastical," who so well represent that foreign power which recognizes no rights among the people; and Mr. McGee, as the organ and agent of that foreign element, is of course anxious to transfer the patronage of the school from the parent to the Priest. But the other statements of Mr. McGee, as well as your own, are without foundation.

115. Regulations for Religious Instruction in the Irish National Schools.

At an early period of the Irish national system, a part of two days was set apart each week for religious instruction; the time was afterwards reduced; and in the regulations of the National Board as revised in 1854, no time whatever is specified for religious instruction. In regard to *vested* schools (of which there are only 1,600 out of 5,300), the rule prescribes that "such pastors or other persons as shall be approved of by parents or guardians of the children respectively, shall have access to them in the school room, for the purpose of giving religious instruction there, at convenient times to be appointed for the purpose." The hours of secular instruction are prescribed; and it is prescribed that no religious instruction shall be given during those hours; but the "convenient times for religious instruction" are left, it is not stated to whom, to determine. Then as to *non-vested* (or denominational schools) the rule prescribes that

"The Patrons or Managers shall determine whether any, and if any, what religious instruction shall be given in the school-room; but if they do not permit it to be given in the school-room, the children, whose parents or guardians desire, must be allowed to *absent* themselves from the school, at reasonable times, for the purpose of receiving religious instructions elsewhere."

Now as the Priests are patrons of 3,700 schools in Ireland, while there are only 1,600 *vested* schools, that feature of the priest being patron is what engages the peculiar sympathy of Mr. McGee as it gives

of Christian truth that have been recognized and adopted in other countries situated similarly to this."—*Speech of the Hon. George Brown in the House of Assembly, 2nd February, 1859.—Globe Report.*

[This pretension of Mr. Brown is replied to in the note to the postscript of letter XII.]

* *Catholic Freeman and Mirror Report.*

all, and therefore "more power to the Pope." But his statement that "two afternoons in the week are set apart for religious instruction," is contrary to fact. All the regulations of the National Board of Education in Ireland are given in the Appendix to my last report, pp. 221—231.

118. Opposition of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Clergy to the National School system.

The statement that the Irish School system has received "the approbation of the majority of parents and Pastors of all denominations in Ireland," is unfounded, and shows how little Mr. McGee (as well as yourself) is acquainted with the proceedings of even his own church in Ireland, or how untrustworthy he is as the reporter of her acts. You have only to look at the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1854, and other official documents of Irish Bishops, as quoted in my last Report, (pp. 44, 45, 278—281,) to see that the Council of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland have passed a statute (sanctioned by the Pope) condemning mixed schools, and that the principal Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland have issued Pastoral Letters against the National School system, as not even yet sufficiently under their control. By the same evidence, it will be seen that the "Presbyterians of Ulster," support the system, not as national, but as *denominational*,—upon the condition of their having the Bible, their own Catechism, and religious exercises, and religious instruction, at their pleasure in their schools. The same evidence also shows, that out of 2020 clergymen of the Church of England and Ireland, only 81 are connected with the National School system; that the Church raises by voluntary contribution no less than £44,250 sterling per annum for the support of 1830 schools, including 98,000 children, or one-sixth as many children as are educated in the 5000 so called National Schools sustained by means of a Parliamentary grant of £300,000 per annum. Mr. McGee's statement therefore—so inconsiderately adopted by you and Mr. Dorion—that the Irish system of education is "approved alike by the Catholic and Protestant Clergy of all denominations," is unfounded. The basis, therefore, of your whole scheme of School importation from Ireland being manifestly baseless, the scheme itself falls to the ground; and the hasty adoption of it, without any proper examination, is shown to be a grave political mistake, and very great folly,—the fruit of your eagerness for office and misplaced faith in Mr. McGee's statements and pretensions.

117. Mr. Brown's tyrannical attempt to conceal the true state of affairs as regards the National system.

It thus turns out that what you are pleased to call the "spitting forth my dishonest blast against the Irish National system," at the University *déjeuner* on the 4th of October, was but a hint in comparison of a volume of facts established by the most indubitable evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, as well as in the debate of the House of Commons the 9th of last July, inserted in the appendix to my last report, pp. 310—320. In your onslaught of the 5th of October upon me for my reply to the toast of the Grammar and Common Schools of Upper Canada, and with which my name was coupled, you said:—

"It will be time enough for Dr. Ryerson to assail the defects of the Irish School System when he knows what parts are likely to be applied to Canada. He had better reserve his strength till then, for it will not be Bishop Charbonnel that he will have to deal with."

You still love darkness rather than light on this subject, for you still conceal what the public have a right to know as to the parts of the Irish system you would graft on ours, beyond that indicated by Mr. McGee, of making the priest the patron of the school.

118. Mr. Brown's threat!—true, he is not Bishop Charbonnel, but Alcibiades, minus his courage, his generalship, and accomplishments.

You seem to have been a good deal concerned lest I should exhaust my strength before the time, and would not have enough left for the day of trial with you. But, as yet, I have not found much strength necessary for that purpose. It is true, I have not had Bishop Charbonnel to meet; for Bishop Charbonnel, though a man of extreme views and impulsive temperament, is a sincere and generous man, above all low and mercenary views; and, least of all, a man who would utter what he knew to be untrue, quote what he knew to be false, or seek the destruction of others in order to elevate himself. If it is true I have not had Bishop Charbonnel to meet in you, and I have met you accordingly—an *ALCIBIADES*, minus his courage, his generalship and accomplishments—a man "both greedy and corrupt, with whom there was no living upon an equal footing, anything and everything by fits and starts just as it suited his present purpose."

119. The Worth British Review on the Irish System—Retirement of two Judges and Archbishops. Whately—Admission by the Earl of Derby (the Scander) of the failure of the system.

But, Sir, I have not quite done with you on the subject of the Irish National system. In addition to the evidence given in

the appendix to my last report on that system, I will adduce the testimony of your own *Free Church North British Review*, for November. I have room for but two or three paragraphs out of pages. The *Review* says :

"The good men who took part in framing and launching this system, 'hoped all things,' and neither did nor could foresee the impossibility of satisfying Roman Catholic educationists with anything short of a total surrender of all that is vital in Bible christianity. Realizing, at last, the hopelessness of the experiment, Baron Greene, Judge Blackburne, and Archbishop Whately, have reluctantly retired from the Board. But further consideration of the result is unnecessary. The Earl of Derby himself, the framer and advocate of the system, admits and laments its failure. 'I admit,' he said, in his place in the House of Lords in March last, 'for my own part that I very much regret, first of all, that the system of united education, which was intended to be national, has to a very considerable extent, failed to realize the expectation of its promoters. I regret that, in so large a portion of the schools, support has been given to the arguments of those opposed to them, and that, in fact, in the great bulk of the schools, contrary to the intention of those who originally proposed the system, there not only is no religious education given, but no facilities even are given for separate religious instruction by the ministers of different persuasions, out of school hours.'"

On these words of the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley) the *North British Review* remarks :

"Those who know the reluctance of the Earl of Derby to acknowledge an error, will best understand the state of the experiment now when it has wrung from him so full and explicit an admission."

Now, Sir, in the face of such authorities and facts as these, in addition to those embodied in the appendix to my report, you say that the Irish system is acceptable alike to the clergy and ministers of all denominations in Ireland, and presents an example of *united* education for our imitation, and Mr. McGee adds that two afternoons are set apart in the week for religious instruction.

120. Protestantism trampled under foot, and Protestant's right to the Bible set aside in the Irish system.

To show how completely Protestantism is trampled under foot and the Protestant's right to the Bible and all religious instruction and exercises in the school are set aside in the working of the Irish National system at the present time, and why Mr. McGee would wish to have it imported into Upper Canada, I quote the following additional passage from the *North British Review* :—

"In the *practical working* of this system many absurdities must appear almost incredible, as associated with deliberative legislation and which few men of common sense will venture to vindicate. We notice only one. Suppose a committee interested in the welfare of the young open a school in the midst of a Protestant district, and a hundred pupils attend, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Dissenting. The Committee arrange that while no catechism nor church formulary shall be taught, the school shall be opened with praise, prayer, and the reading of a short portion of the Word of God. They give to some of the classes the *Scripture Extracts*, prepared and recommended by the Commissioners themselves; and to another class the volume of *Sacred Poetry*. The scholars are receiving a vigorous secular education, combined with the privileges of healthful and moral influences. Two Roman Catholic children, from a family just come to reside in the district, enter the school and they object to praise and prayer, and thenceforth the psalm must be unsung and the prayer unuttered; and they object to the reading of the Bible, and it must be instantly shut; the religious services, in which the young delighted, must cease in the public school, and almost a hundred scholars, at the bidding of two, must either come an hour earlier to school or remain an hour later; and they object to read the *Scripture Extracts*, and they must at once be gathered up from every little scholar; and they object to the volume of *Sacred Poetry* used in another class for the ordinary purposes of instruction; and although neither of the Roman Catholics had a place in that class, nor is called to read that simple and favorite volume, it too must be at once cast aside. These two little lads, objecting on the part of their parents, can not only send the Bible out of the public school, and silence opening praise and prayer, but can gather up from the different classes the *Scripture Extracts* and the volume of *Sacred Poetry* and prohibit their public use. This legislation is so utterly preposterous and its principles so completely stultifying that as a fact in this nineteenth century, it is almost incredible." (pp. 271, 272.)

121. Striking difference between the nature of the concession to Roman Catholics in Ireland and in Upper Canada.—Bishop Charbonnel's first demand resisted by Dr. Ryerson.

Such is the result of concession as to the right of Protestants to the reading of the Bible and other books of religious instruction in the school; and such is the Irish national system in practice, as affecting Protestant rights and interests. It is worthy of remark, that the very year (1852) the new application of an old and recognized principle of the National Board was first contended for, and obtained by the Roman Catholic party in Ireland, in consequence of which Archbishop Whately, Baron Greene, and Judge Blackburne retired from the Board, the same demand was

the principles on which the National Schools are conducted in Ireland, because they are the same as those on which the public schools of Upper Canada are conducted, with this difference, that the hour or hours for denominational religious instruction for each week are not stated or provided in the Canadian Schools. In Ireland it is left to the local patrons to fix the time each week, either during school hours or otherwise. This can be easily provided for in our system by the Council of Public Instruction."

In April, 1857, the Council adopted a Minute, securing to the Clergyman of each religious persuasion, or his representative, the use of the school-house one hour each week, after the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon; or any other hour except school hours, that might be agreed upon by the Trustees, to give religious instruction to the pupils of his own church; and that in the event of Clergymen of more than one religious persuasion desiring thus to occupy the school-house, the Trustees were to determine the day on which the house at the hour agreed upon should be at the service of each Clergyman. In my last report, (p. 20,) I thus refer to this subject:

"The Council of Public Instruction has adopted the avowed principles of the Irish National System, as the basis of action in this important matter, and has proceeded with the utmost caution, according to the feelings and wants of the country. The first step was taken in October, 1850, after the passing of the general school act of that year. The second step was taken in February, 1855, after consultation with enlightened friends of education of all parties in all the counties of Upper Canada.— The third step was taken in April, 1857, on the application of a Roman Catholic Clergyman, who afterwards expressed his satisfaction with the Minute adopted, as have all the Protestant Clergymen with whom I have conversed on subject."

Thus the last step towards incorporating the Irish system in regard to religious exercises and instruction in our public was taken in April, 1857. The mission to Ireland on the subject was undertaken in 1858; and the only result of the mission must have been to me a deep regret in 1857, that the original Irish system had succumbed to the aggressive Catholic hierarchy, and was of its former self—the spirit of its former self. By recent accounts from Ireland that the whole system is being reformed by Lord Derby's Government.

126. What is the only order to improve

It is possible our religious instruction to go to Ireland

them; nor yet is your negotiating with Lower Canada member of Parliament proper method of doing so. The course to pursue is, to consult the persons who have most to do with the religious education of Canadian children and who have done so individually to a large extent. I propose to do so to a still greater extent. I purpose to address a conference of the several religious Heads (and next annual Synods) of the several religious in Upper Canada; furnish of our regulations as to religious instruction in public schools, request as to those regulations, measures which can be the result before the much better it would have adopted some; not let the school to have ignored concerned, and compromising Canada, who to attend to.

127. Position Dr. Ry

My new of the own view in, and The of the Cal'ic parties in all the counties of Upper Canada.—

the Roman Catholic church, and in all good faith I think they are bound by it, the same as a party to any treaty of peace are bound by the terms of such treaty. If they desire to change or modify any of the articles of the treaty, their proper course is to submit their propositions and requests to the other parties concerned, and not assail and abuse them in the public papers, and denounce the work of their own hands.

128. Grounds of Dr. Ryerson's policy on the School question since 1851.—Preparation for the then coming shock.

Then, as to my views in regard to the separate school provisions of the law as it is, I may make a brief statement which will explain the reasons of my whole course of proceeding on this subject. On my return from England in June, 1851, when Mr. Hincks, as stated in the third of this series of letters, referred to me the complaints of Bishop Charbonnel, with an evident disinclination to legislate further on the subject, I made to him in substance the following statements and remarks:—That during my then recent tour, I had met the Senior Secretary of the Irish National Board in London, and had learned from him that a Roman Catholic Council in Ireland had denounced mixed schools, and that the continued connexion of the Roman Catholics in Ireland with the National Schools was very uncertain, and what would be the result of the movement upon the National System in Ireland was doubtful, and caused great anxiety. I said to Mr. Hincks that I viewed a collision with the Roman Catholics on the school question as inevitable—that by cautious and courteous proceedings we might avert it for a year or two, but that the shock would come sooner or later, I had no doubt, and we must be prepared to meet it. I stated my view to be, that we should concede to the demands of the Roman Catholics all we could without infringing the rights of others, and without affecting the foundations of the school system, so that whenever the shock did come we could show that we had conceded all that could be reasonably requested, and that they were aggressors at every step, and thus we would be able to secure the united support of the Protestant population and of the reasonable portion of the Roman Catholics. Such was my statement and my suggestion to Mr. Hincks in 1851. On seeing Bishop Charbonnel and Vicar General McDonnell a few days afterwards, I found that they had not yet been instructed from abroad, as they only desired separate schools as a protection against insult and injustice, and not as a system, and I had strong hope of being able to avoid collision altogether. But before a twelvemonth the Bishop

sounded the first war note, and I felt that I must meet the assault with a bold and determined front.*

These facts explain the reason of both my concessions in some things, and my resistance in other things from 1851 to the present time. I felt in 1855, that no further concessions could be granted without violating the rights of Protestants, the individual rights of Roman Catholics, the rights of municipalities, and uprooting the foundations of our public school system. I have, therefore, resisted all further concessions; and I do so at the present time.

129. Dr. Ryerson's course of proceeding towards Roman Catholics.

I think at the same time that it is neither just nor politic to attempt to deprive them of whatever rights, exemptions, or privileges are secured to them by law. I have never attacked their faith, though I have not hesitated to retort charges and insults of one of their Bishops upon Protestant countries and the Protestant faith. I have respected their religious feelings as much as I have those of any class of Protestants whatever; I have done public honor to more than one of their Canadian dignitaries, and to many of their names renowned in the annals of history and of piety; I have given the most liberal interpretation of the law possible in its applications to them, and afforded them every facility in my power to secure its advantages. But I will not bow submission to their unreasonable mandates, or be their instrument of wrong to other classes of the inhabitants, or to the country at large.

130. Good faith towards the Roman Catholics.—Difference in regard to taxes in Upper and Lower Canada.—Liberal consideration and administration of the law.

As to the separate school law, I think its principles are founded in justice, and should be maintained inviolate. To make any division of the school grant according to population, is to ignore by law the individual right of choice on the part of the whole Roman Catholic population as to sending their children to the public schools, and to tax Protestants to support Catholic schools; but to distribute the school grant according to the attendance of pupils, is the principle on which every school, whether mixed, or separate, or dissentient, is aided in all the townships of both Upper and Lower Canada, and is the true as well as the equitable principle. Municipalities are not permitted to levy and collect taxes for the support of dissentient schools in Lower Canada; and they should not be

* The first letter from the Bishop on the subject was dated on the 20th February, 1852. See correspondence printed by order of the House of Assembly

compelled to levy and collect taxes for the support of separate schools in Upper Canada. In Lower Canada, municipal rates are only levied once in three years; in Upper Canada they are levied every year, and municipalities must know annually, from the changes of residences, names and property, who are to be exempted from rates, if any. It is therefore necessary that they should know in some form who wish to be separated from the public schools, and support these separate schools. But the mode of giving such notice should be as convenient as possible to the parties concerned, as also all necessary returns and reports; nor do I think any school report should be required to be made on oath. That provision of the

separate school law was made to assimilate it to that of Lower Canada, but not with my recommendation or knowledge. While therefore the principles of the separate, as well as of the common school act should, in my opinion, be maintained inviolate, the *modes of proceeding* in each should be rendered as simple and as convenient as possible for all parties concerned, and should be considered from time to time in the most earnest and liberal spirit with that view.

It now only remains, sir, for me, in one more letter, to reply to your more personal charges, and see how matters stand between us.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, January 27, 1858.

No. XI.—Personal attacks are Mr. Brown's Stock-in-Trade of argument when beaten—Recent samples of them, and their prompt refutation.

131. Proof of weakness in Mr. Brown's cause.—Summary of his attacks on Dr. Ryerson.

SIR,—It is the invariable sign of a bad cause and of malice in its advocate, when he resorts to purely personal attacks, which have no connection with the merits of the question at issue. His virtual language to his opponent is, "I cannot answer your arguments, but I can tarnish your reputation; I cannot prove my case, but I can blacken your character; I have no facts or principles to oppose to yours, but I have an ample vocabulary of hard names, of scurrilous epithets, and still more scurrilous insinuations." This, Sir, is your method and style of argument with me. You commenced your attacks upon me on the 6th of December, you renew and enlarge them to the extent of two columns more on the 8th of December. In less than twelve hours after receiving the conclusion of your attacks, I send you a succinct and explicit reply to your charges. Do you undertake to prove that I was wrong and you were right? Nothing of the kind. You keep my hastily written letter by you in type for eight days, and you then come forth with seven columns, not dealing with the first questions of your attack, but making a general assault upon my whole public life—including attacks upon successive administrations of government in school matters, and several public men, two deceased, one absent, and others retired from public life—and endeavoring to prove that I have been inconsistent, mercenary and corrupt in all my doings for the last fourteen years. Now, what had all this to do with the three issues

raised in your first attack—the accuracy of my statistical references, the fact of my having opposed separate schools in my reports from 1851 to 1854, and to the question of "political allies?" The whole of your angry and abusive tirades had no more to do with the questions originally raised by yourself, and no more logical connection in its parts, than had Goldsmith's angry argumentation in proof that he chewed his dinner by moving his upper jaws.

132. Mr. Brown pursued through his devious mazes and convicted of seven acts of literary forgery.

Then, I pursue you step by step in all your devious mazes of misrepresentation and calumny—showing that you had been guilty of no less than seven acts of petit larceny in seven pretended quotations from my reports; that the governments and public men whom you attacked had pursued a consistent and patriotic course in school matters, while you have pursued a course the very reverse, exhibiting weakness, folly, and selfishness in your own proceedings, while you are assailing others on the same grounds without stint or scruple.

133. Mr. Brown's first effort to create a petty diversion.—He feels the scorching fire of facts and arguments.

What do you in this second stage of the controversy, commenced and renewed by yourself? Do you answer me letter by letter, or wait in silence until the conclusion of my reply, and then put forth your rejoinder? No, you do neither; but you make a two-fold effort to create a petty diversion. In the first place, one of your editors being a city school trustee, with certain "political allies" in the same board,

you manipulate that agency to employ what I can only designate a very small instrument to throw some dirty water upon me, under the pretext that I had stated wilful and fearful untruths when I said the Normal School system had been ignored in the city schools, as no Normal School teacher had been placed in charge of one of the Common Schools of the city, and only two or three in subordinate situations; and in this I spoke according to the belief of the Head Master, who did not know of more than two or three Normal School teachers employed in the city schools, and not one in charge of a school, and after having conversed with the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the City Schools, who was under the same impression, and who had in the same view brought it before the Board of which he was a member. Yet it turned out on minute inquiry that although there was no Normal School teacher in charge of any city school, nor had been for a year or more, there were some eight or nine (out of 35 teachers) young females who had attended the Normal School employed in inferior situations in the city schools—so that to have been critically correct, I should have said a *few* instead of “two or three” teachers in subordinate situations. Yet this trifling inaccuracy, which could not in the least effect the fact or the argument of the Normal School system not having been introduced into the city schools, was magnified into what you termed in the *Globe* “a scorcher for Dr. Ryerson”—so thankful were you for so small a favor to abate the heat of the scorching fire of facts and arguments embodied in my letters, by diverting attention from the issues between us, and which had been provoked by yourself.*

134. Mr. Brown's second effort to create a petty diversion.—What he has to descend to mislead the public.

Then your second and still greater effort of the same kind is made in the *Globe* of

yesterday morning, in which you devote nearly *four columns*—two columns and a half of editorial, and upwards of a column of selections, to show that I am advocating the papacy, as an “adoring disciple of Father Bruyere (!)” and that you with Mr. McGee are the champions of Protestantism still; that I am *attacking* Mr. George Brown in a series of letters, instead of replying to his attacks! that I am actually employed to write squibs for the Ministry, instead of exposing your gross misrepresentations and assaults! Then, in your editorial, you labor, in addition, to make me out a defaulter, a plunderer, a speculator, an extortioner, an usurer, and bribed by foreign dealers in books and objects of art! This, Sir, is your charity; this is your logic; this your truth and decency.

135. Parental example forgotten in Mr. Brown's base charges of fraud and plunder.—The “Huron Signal” to the rescue! (Note.)

In the *Globe* of the 16th December, you mention no less than four times my having appropriated public money to my own use; in the *Globe* of the 1st of January you refer also four times to my appropriation to my own purposes “monies of the Educational Department,” “to the amount of \$6,000;” and in the *Globe* of yesterday you not only dwell on this allegation at great length, but you utter statements and insinuations which you naturally suppose from their very nature cannot be refuted, and will therefore be more likely to do the deed of stabbing my character to the heart. Lest the reader should suppose that I in the least exaggerate or color your conduct, I will select a few samples, as follows:—“He took three per cent. a year from the bank deposits, and there is evidently no difference in principle between taking three per cent. a month through the agency of a broker. Dr. Ryerson may, in fact, have been shaving notes to an unlimited extent during the crisis.” “Our readers know that he carries on a large trade as a bookseller, but perhaps all of them are not aware that discounts to wholesale buyers is an established custom of the publisher's business. Dr. Ryerson sometimes goes to England to purchase, and he would have no difficulty in getting five, ten, or even twenty per cent. commission on his transactions.” “There is no knowing, in fact, how far Dr. Ryerson has carried his views into practice. He went to Italy two or three years ago, and spent \$12,000 in pictures. Who knows what ‘casual advantages’ he obtained from the

* An unknown correspondent (“Vox”) in the *Colonist* of the 15th January, has thus wittily satirized this small business. He says:—“Just when the school controversy between Dr. Ryerson and the Hon. George Brown had begun to wax rather too hot for honest Geordie's comfort, there comes forward an officious gentleman with a small garden engine, and throws a weak stream of water upon a little the hottest place, and up-ries a puff of steam. Grateful for such relief, George cries, ‘pour on.’ What a deliverance it would be if he could only escape unseen amidst the vapor! And what does the pretended discrepancy amount to, acent which there is so much pother? I've read the *pros* and the *cons*. Nothing could more plainly describe the issue than an incident which I shall here recount. A minister of the Gospel had promised his son, a bright-eyed ruddy little fellow, that he should have a *few* apples if he learnt well the Scripture lesson. The boy had it faithfully. He received *three* apples. But, father, said the lad you promised me ‘a few.’ A Scriptural passage in my lesson says ‘a *few* souls were saved, eight,’ &c. The youthful recipient of a parent's reward thought the pro-

vided few should count eight. Narrowed down to my simple comprehension, that is just about the kernel of this momentous difference, involving statements, replies, and rejoinders. Is *three* a *few*?

dealers in Rome and Florence?" "Casual advantage may have flowed into his pockets by thousands while he has been spending \$200,000 a year of the public money." "Some people call it 'plunder,' and some 'pickings.' A Yankee describes it as 'stealings.'" "We are informed* also that the Auditor General has been refused permission by Dr. Ryerson to examine the accounts of the Book Department, which may indicate that there is something in them that requires to be concealed."†

I leave the reader, of any party, to judge what must be the principles, and character, and state of a man's mind who can conceive, create, and insinuate all that is involved in the above sentences, phrases and terms against another, without a shadow of proof, and, as I shall show, without a vestige of truth? Such a mind may well be its own tormentor, as it is a disgrace to human nature.

Sir, I envy not your position or your feelings, or the judgment of the public, in your present conduct towards me and towards my family. You are the first man in

* Who the common informer may be time will reveal; but it is not at all singular that such insinuations should make their first appearance in a paper which has constituted itself the common vehicle of slander and the receptacle of every kind of malevolent Billingsgate.

† As had been predicted by Dr. R. last month Mr. Brown (and he and his "ally" McGee, stand alone in these cowardly attacks) has again (18th Feb.) skulked behind the ramparts of Parliamentary privilege to repeat this truthless slander. Not content with renewing his assaults and wasting the time of the House in his attack upon Dr. R., where he cannot stand up to defend himself, he must now falsify as well as suppress what took place in the debate on the subject. Mr. Brown, while declaiming in a state of great excitement about Dr. Ryerson's "salary," as he often does ("salary" seems to be his one great idea), triumphantly exclaimed—to the Hon. Inspector General Galt [we quote from the *Globe*]:

"Will the Hon. gentleman tell us if Dr. Ryerson's salary increased from £750 to £1000, contrary to statute, without consent of Parliament, and while the matter of Dr. Ryerson's conduct was under discussion by the Committee? Will he deny that this increase was dated back from January, 1857, and went to pay Dr. Ryerson's default?"

"Hon. Mr. Galt—The money was paid on the 20th July."

Now contrast Mr. Galt's reply as given by the *Globe* above with the following reply, which was actually given to Brown's question, as reported in the *Leader*, and see to what petty shifts Mr. Brown must still resort to deceive the public and to damage those who expose his truthlessness and his abandonment of principles which he before confessed to be essential.

"Mr. Brown—Will the Hon. gentleman, &c., deny that the increase was dated back from January, 1857, and went to pay Dr. Ryerson's default?"

"Hon. Mr. Galt—Oh, no. The increase in the salary of the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada was made at the same time the salary of the Chief Superintendent for Lower Canada had been increased, long before the investigations in the Public Accounts Committee (Hear.)" The money was paid, &c.

"Mr. Brown said the Hon. member was mistaken. Not only had Dr. Ryerson's salary been thus improperly increased, but he had refused to allow the Auditor of Public Accounts to examine his books."

"Mr. Galt—That is not the case."

Upper Canada that ought to be silent, and the last man that ought to speak on such a subject. In charging me with unfaithfulness, fraud, and plunder, you are charging one nearer home with dishonesty and speculation, if not worse.

136. Proof of the utter untruthfulness of Mr. Brown's slander.

But, Sir, I will not rest my defence on comparative ground of this kind. I will answer explicitly to your charges, whether plainly stated or darkly insinuated.

As to the charge that I have refused permission to the Auditor to examine the accounts of the Book Department, let the following extract of my letter, dated the 14th of June, 1858, in reply to his, speak for itself:—

"In respect to purchases made for the Book, Map, and apparatus depositories, I do not see that further details can be given than is stated both in the *cheques* and *vouchers*, unless the invoices be furnished. In my letter of the 13th December, 1856, I stated to you that the 'particulars of those vouchers are invoices for books furnished by publishers, and are by special agreement confidential. You have not asked for them before, but if you still wish it I shall be happy to furnish you with them.'"

137. Reply to the Brown "shaving" charge—He forges the "cloud" from old Scotland.

In reply to your insinuations, that I have shaved notes, or lent money at three or any other per cent. a month, through a broker, or any other way, let any man in Canada say, if he can, that I have ever done anything of the kind—that I have ever taken a 'penny's worth of stock of any kind, or speculated to the amount of a sixpence in any shape or form in my life, except being a subscriber for years to two funds for the relief of worn out ministers, their widows and children. Let any record or man on earth say that I own a farthing's stock of any description, or property of any kind, except one-fifth of an acre and premises where I reside. Such, Sir, are my only accumulations in the public service between thirty and forty years, while in less than half that time, by trading upon the passions and generous impulses of an honest people, and by the facilities of speculation created and improved by your political career, you have, according to your own statements, accumulated what is "quite commensurate with your desires," though not enough to pay off old sponsors and creditors in Scotland, and thus remove what you yourself called "a cloud hanging over your family." Sir, I leave my life to testify, and all who have known me from my youth to witness as to your insinuated charges of usury and extortion, or whether my family has not had more reason to com-

plain than others in regard to the disposal of what may have been entrusted to my stewardship.

138. Reply to the baseless "Commission" charge.

Then, 'Sir, as to my having sometimes "gone to England to purchase books, and received five, ten, or even twenty per cent. commission," you evidently thought you could insinuate your deadly calumny without any power on my part, from the nature of the case, to avert its venom. I am thankful that on this point also I am shielded against your malicious insinuations, since I never went to England or any where else to purchase a supply of books, and never felt myself fit for that sort of thing, or ever attempted it. I went to England once to arrange as to the method and terms on which school apparatus and books might be obtained, and arranged with the Queen's government to secure to Canada the advantages of their agreements with booksellers for supplying the schools with both books and apparatus in England, and I afterwards got that arrangement extended with booksellers so as to procure maps, apparatus and books independent of the Imperial Government, thereby saving to Canada an additional five per cent. on their cost. The only purchases I made were a specimen copy of each book I thought worthy of examination for libraries—the examination of which cost me labour in extra hours, early and late, of nearly two years. The account of these specimen copies of books was forwarded by mail in the usual way, and beyond thus purchasing a specimen copy of these books in 1852, I have never made a purchase, or even prepared an order; and have never been advantaged with a commission in any form whatever, to the amount of a penny. The purchases of books have been made by correspondence, and the order letters, invoices, receipts, and original cheques for every book bought, and every penny paid, are in the department, and are so many witnesses of the impossible truth as well as baseness of your insinuated charges.

I am thankful to be equally shielded against your equally malicious insinuated charge that I derived advantage from the picture dealers of Florence and Rome. It is fortunate that in the system I adopted I never paid them myself for their pictures. When I selected and purchased a picture or pictures in any of the painters' studios, I wrote my name, or initials of it, on the back of them, and had an account of them with the price made out. That account (after taking a copy of it) I lodged with the banker and forwarder (for these two are almost invariably united in Italy), and on the delivery of any picture with my signa-

ture on the back, the banker accepted it, and paid the price according to the account left in his hands by me. Then the banker had the pictures packed and forwarded to Canada, together with the accounts received by the dealers, and his own charges; the vouchers for which have been furnished to the Auditor when the accounts were sent in. Though, therefore, you have pursued me not only to England, but even to Florence and Rome, yet even from thence there is indubitable testimony in black and white of the falsehood of your insinuated charges.

139. Useful reminder for Mr. Brown of the proverb about glass houses.

So much on what you are pleased to call my "plunder," and "pickings," and "stealings," of which you yourself have furnished the most remarkable illustration that I have recently witnessed. Before the 24th December, you published in large hand-bills, and in the *Globe* for sale, "the correspondence between Dr. Ryerson and the Hon. George Brown on Separate Schools." But it turned out that you had not only refused to publish my correspondence in reply to your long letter and editorial, but that you had actually *stolen* one-third of my letter that you did publish—that you *plundered* from each purchaser of the *Globe* the price of the *third* of the letter thus *stolen*, and that you thus secured the *pickings* of the previous *theft* and *plunder*—a three-fold transaction that may afford a key to the system by which, in the course of a few years, you have accumulated a fortune, as you stated in the House of Assembly, "quite commensurate with your wishes." As your "ample fortune" was accumulated several months since, I suppose you still continue the old system, in order to transmit to Scotland a sufficient amount of "plunder," and "pickings," and "stealings," to remunerate parties there for former "pickings," which had been practised upon them. Be that as it may, you have certainly shown yourself as great in these transactions as you have shown yourself little in your July negotiations with Messrs. Dorion and Drummond.

Having exhausted the space available for a letter in reply to your charges of yesterday,* I must still devote another letter in reply to your principal financial charge, and then sum up the whole argument between us.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, January 29, 1859.

* Mr. Brown is saved the trouble (according to his new fast and loose system of editorial responsibility of denying either his authorship or knowledge of this

No. XII.—Mr. Brown's Personalities—His financial charges refuted—His Inconsistencies portrayed—Appeal from his threats to the Country.

140. Mr. Brown's unscrupulous and unprincipled personalities.—The *Globe* a common sewer of slander.—Its demoralizing influence.—Humiliating contrast between it and the English press.

SIR,—In this last of my present series of letters in reply to your attacks, I have proposed to notice your most personal charges.

There is no subject less interesting to the public, and less appropriate for public discussion, than personal financial matters. There are a hundred things connected with the personal affairs of each individual which cannot be made known to or understood by the public; and a person thus assailed always appears to disadvantage. Hence the unscrupulous and unprincipled man is always intent to attack his opponents and rivals on this point, just as a female of doubtful reputation ever breathes out suspicion and scandal against all competitors, real or imaginary. Time was, even in Canada, when men could differ in opinions and on parties, and earnestly discuss public questions, without violating the language of mutual courtesy, or wounding the feelings of personal friendship. But you, Sir, have inaugurated a new state of things—a new style of argumentation—a new tone of thinking and feeling between communities and parties, between man and man. Every man not of your party is either a corruptor, or is corrupted; every head of a department, or other officer, whose place you aspire to possess or control is a tyrant or a slave, a thief or a robber; every public man not at your disposal is a knave or a fool; and even the Judge who records not your will as law is but the reproduction of a Jeffreys. Your politics are men, not principles; and the virtues and characters of every man depend upon his subserviency to your purposes. You discuss not doctrines but assail men; you make your *Globe* not the vehicle of salutary truth and knowledge, but a common sewer of personal slander and vituperation—thus weakening the very foundations of progressive civilization by corrupting those principles and feelings

which form the cement, and strength and life-blood of society. The London *Times* of the 22nd of November, in discussing the freedom and growth of British Institutions and liberty as contrasted with those of France, in relation to the affair of Count Montalembert, makes the following suggestive remarks: "To a stranger we appear always in a ferment. He takes up the newspapers, and finds himself in a storm of argument, DIVESTED, INDEED, OF PERSONALITY, but levelled indiscriminately against institutions and proceedings." But, Sir, if a man takes up the *Globe* newspaper, he finds himself in a storm of "personality;" personality in your editorials; personality in your selections; personality in your hates and objects; little else than personality in your paper, from day to day, and from month to month; personality against all officers of State, from the Queen's representative and judges down to the newly appointed Superintendent of Penetanguishine Reformatory Prison, and embracing the dead as well as the living. It is not, therefore, strange that I should share largely in your "personalities," and that I should be compelled in answering you, to enter so largely into the discussion of personal matters, and last of all in pounds, shillings and pence. In addition to your charges and insinuations to which I replied in my last letter you charge me with two things—with having dishonestly appropriated \$6,000 of public money for my own private use, and with having taken an illegal salary since 1850.

141. Mr. Brown never wearies in repeating a stale untruth.—Explanatory remarks.—The whole question fairly put.—Appeal to the candor and fairness of the reader.

In regard to the former and more serious of these charges, which you have repeated more times than there are months in the year, and in as many forms as your ingenuity could devise, I regret that from my want of forethought, you could even find a pretext for your imputations—that during

infamous attack. The editor of the "Huron Signal" gives the name of the author in this additional tirade which the "Editor-in-Chief" republishes in his *Globe* of the 17th of February as follows:—"The country affects to be surprised that Mr. Brown has not replied to Dr. Ryerson's Letters as they came forth."

But Mr. Brown has replied to the Rev. Doctor's long series of long letters. In the *Daily Globe* of the 25th January, there was a long article headed "The Ryerson Interest Case," giving a full and an impartial view of the eminent Dr. of Divinity's connection with the public finances.

Since the foregoing letter was written, Mr. Brown has himself repeated in brief, before the House of Assembly, the whole of this infamous editorial, which the *Huron Signal* chuckles over as Mr. Brown's REPLY (!) to Dr. Ryerson's letters! Not content with persisting in this cowardly system of attack, he must also in his own paper suppress and falsify the Hon. Mr. Galt's reply to his misstatements. See page 80.

From the Parliamentary proceedings, and the Editorial of the *Globe*, of February 26, 1859, it appears that Mr. Brown has again put himself at the head of the Toronto booksellers and book-auctioneers who seek to destroy the Educational Depository.

a public life of thirty-four years, I should, in a single instance, give the shadow of ground for even George Brown to impeach any act of mine in pecuniary matters—that in this, as in all kindred transactions of both my public and private life, even my mode of proceeding was not such as to give satisfaction to my friends as well as to silence my adversaries. I say, I regret this, and I am free to confess here, as I stated in letters [which you suppress] to the Committee on Public Accounts, that I “left undone what I ought to have done, and did what I ought not to have done,” in not writing officially on the subject to the Government in the first place and in acting upon anything short of the written sanction of the Government. That was an error for which I have had to pay a heavy penalty. In the meantime, in correction of the views which you have imputed to me, I repeat what I stated in my last letter to the Committee on Public Accounts, that I regard the present system of having public moneys placed at the credit of a department, payable on departmental cheques alone, is a safer and better system than that which existed before 1857, when I was personally responsible for the safe keeping as well as payment of all moneys expended through the Educational Department. I say, furthermore, that I never, even under the former system, felt myself at liberty [though I had the right] to use public money at my control for purposes of speculation, as you have ascribed to me. Though I had no instructions to deposit in the Bank at all, and might have retained it in my own hands, or speculated with it, as you doubtless would have done in similar circumstances and with the sanction of parental example; yet I deposited it in the Bank and applied it to the purposes for which it was granted. As I was the responsible treasurer, as well as paymaster of school moneys, and was at liberty to deposit them where I pleased, or not at all, I felt myself entitled to anything the Bank might think proper to allow on deposits, and that I ought not to account to the Government for more than was advanced to me by the Government. This is the whole question. I submit to any reader, that in case a neighbour or company should place in his hands £1,000 or £10,000 with a request that he would pay it out from time to time for certain purposes, he being responsible for the safe keeping as well as the due payment of such money, though receiving no remuneration for his responsibility and trouble, whether he would not feel himself entitled to any allowance a bank might grant him for the deposit of such

money, and whether he would feel himself in duty bound to pay out in behalf of the neighbor or company more money than he received from them, and whether he would not feel that he had equitably and faithfully performed his duty in paying on their behalf a thousand pounds for every thousand pounds he had received from them.* I will furthermore submit to the reader, whether he would not feel himself hardly used if the neighbor or company whom he had thus obliged by receiving and paying money for them without any remuneration, should, on learning that a bank had allowed him something on deposits of such money, set up a technicality of law, and demand the payment to them of the amount of such allowance in addition to the sum or sums advanced by them. Would not the reader say, that though the technicality of law might be against him, he was entitled in equity and fairness to much more than such a casual advantage for his responsibility and trouble? Such is my own case, strengthened by several circumstances in addition to those mentioned in the case supposed, as will presently appear. Yet I have been accused of fraud and speculation for claiming and employing as my own what a bank chose to allow me on deposits which I could make or not make as I pleased. I believe that had I incurred the same responsibility and done the same work for any private party, I would have received much more than what the bank chose to allow on the contingent balances of deposits. I believe the Government, in order to avoid the suspicion of unduly favoring me, or of countenancing a principle no longer allowed in public departments, thought it necessary to act up to the utmost rigor of law.†

142. The case itself divested of extraneous circumstances, minutely stated.

I will now, in as few words as possible, state the case itself without any reference to extraneous parties or circumstances. From the first I have assumed the entire official responsibility of the act myself;‡ and

* It has been objected, that Dr. Ryerson received a salary for what he did, while in the case supposed the party receiving and paying money received no salary. But while Dr. Ryerson received a salary for receiving and paying \$74,369, as required by law, in addition to his ordinary duties as Superintendent and Administrator of the Schools Acts, he received and paid \$1,075,004, which he was not required to do by law, and for which he received no salary whatever.

† Thus the late Hon. Receiver General Morrison stated in his evidence on the 1st of June, 1858, in reply to question 213, as follows:—

“I said that though equity was in his favor the law was against him, and that he had no right to the money, and that I thought Government would not give up the claim.” [Page 90.]

‡ The following on the two concluding paragraphs of Dr. Ryerson's letter to the (late) Receiver General Ross, dated 6th July, 1858, referring to this

I have not referred to conversations with persons or parties as authority, (as I stated expressly to the Committee on Public Accounts) but to show that I had studied no concealment in this, any more than on other personal affairs.* The specific charge against me is, that I regarded and applied as my own, the interest at the rate of three per cent. allowed by the Bank of Upper Canada from February, 1851, to November, 1855—amounting in all to £1376 Os. 9d.—or at the rate of £275 per annum, when my salary was £500. It is not unworthy of remark that more than two-thirds of this wholosum thus accumulated during five years was allowed in 1855, when I was absent in Europe, and of which I knew nothing until my return to Canada in April, 1856.

In stating the case, I remark first that from 1846 to 1856 I was the treasurer as well as paymaster of all moneys granted by Parliament for the establishment and sup-

port of the Normal and Model Schools of Upper Canada. Like all other treasurers of public moneys under the old system I deposited it or not, and where I pleased, so that the money was payable and paid at the time and in the manner prescribed by law; and I was personally answerable for its safe keeping as well as for its payment. The provisions of the school act for 1850 in regard to my *financial responsibility and duty* is as follows:—"To be responsible for all moneys paid through him *in behalf of the Normal and Model Schools*, and to give such security for the same as shall be required by the Governor." It will thus be seen that the law did not contemplate or provide for my being accountable for or paying any other than moneys relating to the Normal and Model Schools. All other school moneys were paid through the Receiver General, on my apportionment, and notification to the Inspector General.

point, published in Appendix B. to the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts:—

"I have never professed to have had Governmental authority for any thing that I have done in this subject, never having considered a private conversation an official, much less a governmental act. I have felt that the official responsibility of the proceeding rested with myself, and as such I placed it before Government in my letter to the Inspector General, dated 20th December, 1854. But had I heretofore, or even now, the formal sanction of the Government for retaining interest on public moneys gratuitously allowed me by the bank from 1851 to 1855, I believe it would be better, both on public and official grounds, considering my relation to the country, for me to pay the uttermost farthing of the money in question than to retain any part of it against the honest conviction of any considerable portion of the community.

"Under these circumstances, I wish to pay the Government the amount of the interest in question, notwithstanding that, without a farthing expense to the country, I have made my extensive official tour for the examination of European and American School systems, the result of which is the establishment of our School system of Upper Canada, and, notwithstanding that, up to January 1857, (when I ceased to be responsible for the safe keeping of school moneys, and when my present increase of salary commenced), I have received and paid upwards of (\$1,075,004) beyond what I was required to do by the statute under which I hold office, and for which I have received no remuneration." (pp. 294—295.)

* This is abundantly proved by the following extract from the evidence of the late Hon. Receiver General Morrison before the Public Accounts Committee, 1st June, 1858:—

"*Ques. 219.* Are you a member of the Council of Public Instruction, and when were you appointed? —I am. I was appointed in 1846."

"*Ques. 220.* While acting as a member of the Council of Public Instruction were you made aware of the nature of the arrangement under which Dr. Ryerson was allowed interest? Please to state what you know of the matter.—While I was a member of the Council of Public Instruction I was aware that Dr. Ryerson was receiving interest upon public deposits. I think Dr. Ryerson mentioned it himself, and also Mr. Scobie. A part of the funds of the Department were under our supervision, but all the rest were placed at the personal credit of Dr. Ryerson. It was a matter of conversation several times. We were aware of the existence of the fact, but knew nothing of the amount." (Page 91.)

During my absence in England, in the latter part of 1850 and the former part of 1851, but a small part of the warrants for my salary was called for, and Mr. Hodgins, ever more attentive to my personal interests than I was myself, and following up an arrangement which I had made a few months before in behalf of the Council of Public Instruction in regard to the Normal School Building Fund, applied to the Bank for interest on the deposits of the warrants for my salary, and was answered that three per cent. would be allowed upon any balance in the Bank at my credit. This was the commencement of the affair of interest about which so much noise has been made. Mr. Hodgins certainly never thought of the Government when he went to the Bank; nor could the Bank have thought of it, as the Bank did not allow the Government anything on the current deposits. This was expressly stated by the late Honorable Receiver General Morrison, in his evidence in this case before the Committee of Public Accounts.* The Government therefore lost nothing on account of any thing the Bank thought proper to allow me on the balance of such deposits at my credit. As I was then personally responsible for the custody and safe keeping of all moneys in my hands, (and myself and sureties would have to replace the amount should the Bank in which I placed it have failed) no distinction was ever (until 1857) observed at the Bank between my official and private accounts, though I used official cheques for official purposes, and received no credit in the books of the Department except for moneys

"*Ques. 220.*—Would the amount of monies received by Dr. Ryerson from time to time have borne interest if left with the Government?—It would not."

paid on official cheques. The whole amount of balances at my credit at the Bank during 1851 was £2086 13s. 6d.

In the autumn of 1851, the Seat of Government was removed to Quebec, after which, acting on merely verbal instructions (for I never received any others) *I received and paid*, as well as apportioned, all moneys for school purposes in Upper Canada. This was a responsibility and labor not imposed on me by law, or contemplated when my salary was fixed by statute. It was thus, not by statute, but by verbal instructions on the part of the Government, that I became both the treasurer and paymaster of all the school moneys of Upper Canada (which I never was before,) and was personally responsible for their safe keeping and faithful payment—which caused, of course, an immense increase of official correspondence and labor, as well as of personal responsibility. In January, 1857, the whole system was changed; school moneys were no longer paid into my hands, but placed to the credit of the Department, and payable on official cheques only; I was no longer responsible for the custody of such moneys, only for my official cheques for their payment to parties entitled to receive them.

The amount of moneys received and paid out by me from 1851 to 1856 inclusive, and for receiving and paying which I was responsible according to the statute above quoted, was \$74,369.

The amount of moneys received and paid out by me during the same period *over and above what I was required to do by law, but which I did by special instruction*, was no less than \$1,075,004 (one million seventy-five thousand and four dollars.) The Banks receive half per cent for agency in paying moneys. One-half per cent on this sum would amount to \$5,375, while the interest in dispute was \$5,404. I not only received and paid out this great sum, but conducted all the correspondence involved in its payment—no part of which had been imposed on me by law.

For the receipt and expenditure of every farthing of these large sums I accounted in detail by all the vouchers desired by the Auditor of Public Accounts, and for receiving, safe-keeping, payment of, and correspondence respecting, the latter (\$1,075,004) of these sums, you deny that I have any right to compensation, though you cannot deny that I incurred the extra personal responsibility and labor required in doing so.

In November, 1855, the Bank of Upper Canada changed its policy as to allowing interest on deposits, and declined doing so

any longer. *Six months afterwards*, on my return from Europe, I received a note from the Auditor of Public Accounts, to the effect that he had learned that the Bank of Upper Canada had allowed me interest on public moneys at my credit, and the Inspector General required me to account for it to the Government. I objected verbally to the Inspector General's demand—that if I was required to pay the interest allowed me by the Bank, I should demand compensation for services rendered and expenses incurred, for which I had never made any claims, though reasonable and just; that I would appeal to the Governor General in Council on the question.

143. Appeal to the Governor General in Council against Mr. Cayley's demand, December, 1856.

As soon as I got through the accumulation of special matters which could not be disposed of during my year's absence, and the preparation and printing of my annual report, I prepared my appeal to the Governor General in Council. This I did in two letters—the one dated 27th December, 1856, stating the expenses I incurred, and the services I had rendered, for which I had neither received nor asked any compensation, but for which, under the circumstances, I now applied; and the other letter, dated the 29th of the same month, giving an account in detail of all interest which the Bank of Upper Canada had allowed me on all moneys, both public and private, deposited by me from February 1851, to November, 1855, stating the grounds on which I considered myself entitled to it. That letter, explaining the whole transaction on its first occurrence, and addressed to Mr. Inspector General Cayley, has, in some unaccountable way, been withheld from the Committee of Public Accounts, though applied for. I will quote the two concluding paragraphs, as follows:—

"9. In view of the foregoing facts I confidently appeal to His Excellency in Council as to whether I have not duly accounted for all school moneys placed in my hands according to the strictest letter and beyond the requirements of the law, and whether I am not fairly entitled to a much larger compensation than I have received for the extra and large responsibilities I have incurred, the work I have performed, and the saving and advantage to the country I have effected."

"10. I have recently addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Province, praying His Excellency in Council to reimburse me for moneys I have expended in the public service, and for arrears in salary; but as I would rather sustain any loss than receive directly or indirectly a penny which is not in accordance with law as well as justice, I beg to suggest that this communication may be taken into con-

sideration in connection with that which I addressed to the Provincial Secretary, the 27th inst., that His Excellency in Council may decide upon the amount and the allowances lawfully and justly due me, in view of all the circumstances connected with my responsibilities, duties, and labors."

144. Passing of the Order in Council during the absence of the Governor General, the Attorney General, and the Receiver General.

It will be seen by the foregoing paragraphs, that I appealed against the demand of Mr. Inspector General Cayley to the Governor General in Council. I heard no more on the subject for ten months, until the following October, when, while in England on special business, I learned that an order in Council had passed, requiring me to pay the interest in question, as demanded by the Inspector General, but to pay it in instalments. This order in Council was passed during the absence of His Excellency the Governor General, the Attorney General, and the Receiver General, and during my own absence in England, and was not to be communicated to me until my return. Why the order in Council was passed in the absence of these parties, and so long before it was to be acted upon, has never transpired. But no sooner did Mr. Hodgins learn, informally, that such an order in Council had been made, than, without waiting for my return, he procured the sum demanded, went to the Receiver General, and offered to pay, not an instalment, but the whole amount forthwith: but the latter declined receiving it, as he had not seen the order in question.* From that time forward I expressed my readiness to pay the sum in question at any time the Government might direct, as was expressly stated by both the Attorney and Receiver Generals in their evidence on the question before the Committee of Public Accounts.

145. Charge brought up two years after appeal by Dr. Ryerson to the Governor General.

Under such circumstances, it could hardly be supposed that I should be arraigned as a public defaulter. Yet more than two years after I had transmitted to the Inspector General an account in detail of the interest allowed me by the bank, and several months after I had offered to pay it at any time the Government might direct, an object was sought to be accomplished by bringing a charge against me before the Committee of Public Accounts, in con-

* *Ques. 217.*—Did you decline receiving the debentures tendered by Mr. Hodgins because the order in Council had not been presented to you?—That was the reason.

Ques. 218.—Can you state at what time the tender was made to you by Mr. Hodgins?—It was about the time of the passing of the order in Council, in September, 1857.* Page 81.

nexion with a formal attack upon me in the *Globe*.

In the meantime, seeing that the Government communicated to me no order on the subject, and learning that the Committee on Public Accounts was simply reporting the evidence without expressing any opinion, while I was publicly assailed in cruel terms, I determined to offer to the Government the amount of the interest in question, irrespective of my own convictions of personal wrong and of the non-settlement of my own claims by the Government. My offer was accepted, and, by the aid of private friendship not to be forgotten, I paid the whole sum the 20th of July, for which I hold the receipt of the Deputy Receiver General.* Yet am I now more than ever abused by you, instead of your paying what you have acknowledged you must pay in order to remove a much heavier "cloud from your family" than ever rested upon mine.

146. Utter truthlessness of Mr. Brown's statements in this matter. Two striking examples.

I have now done with this question; but I have not done with your imputations upon me respecting it. You represent me as having defrauded the school fund. The whole sum has been paid by me; yet not one farthing has been added to the school fund, as not one farthing had been taken from it—showing the falsity of all your statements on the subject.

Then, you say, I defrauded the public revenue. Now the Receiver General stated in his evidence before the Committee on Public Accounts, that had the moneys deposited to my credit remained at his credit, as public moneys they would not have drawn interest, as the Bank paid no interest to the Government on current deposits.†

147. Dr. Ryerson's course no departure from usage.—Hon. Receiver General Dunn's case.—County Treasurers, Sheriffs, Land Agents, Prothonotaries, &c.

You know, Sir, that such transactions are matters of usage or of statutory, or departmental regulations, and what is legal and right in one case is the reverse in another case. Formerly Mr. Receiver General Dunn, (a most honorable and generous man) actually lent and used as he pleased public moneys for which he had given security—simply paying them as required by warrants of the Governor, and accounting for them as required by law. The same was the custom with County

* The payment was acknowledged by the Hon. Attorney General Macdonald, in opposing an amendment by Mr. Mackenzie, as reported in the *Globe* of the 21st July, 1858. See also note on next page.

† See *Ques. 230*, on page 84 of this pamphlet.

Treasurers; as it is still, I believe, with Sheriffs, Land Agents, Prothonotaries, &c. The regulations which at the present time, would render it wrong for me to derive any advantage from public moneys at my credit, did not exist before 1856, and I acted according to precedent and usage in analogous cases. The usage may have been objectionable and the principle bad, but no one can say that I abused it. Had I been disposed to commit any abuse in regard to the use of public moneys, I had ample opportunities of doing so, as they were at my disposal. But the fact that I never used any of those moneys for speculations of any kind, and faithfully accounted in detail and by voucher for the receipt and expenditure of the enormous sum of \$1,147,373, (one million one hundred and forty-seven thousand, three hundred and seventy-three dollars,) from 1851 to 1856 inclusive, when the present improved regulations were introduced, shows that I deserve something very different from abuse for the execution of a very responsible and difficult trust.

148. Mr. Cayley's technicality of law vs. equity
Mr. Brown's incessant personal abuse.—How appropriate it is in his case.

Few will, I think, imagine that the Government showed me any favor, in sustaining Mr. Inspector General Cayley's demand, and pressing against me a technicality of law irrespective of the question of equity,* and in not deciding during the whole of the year 1857 upon the account and question submitted by me at the end of 1856. And then more than two years after I accounted for the interest in dispute and desired the decision of the Government on it, and more than six months after, I through my agent, tendered the money in dispute, but the acceptance of which was declined by the Receiver General, you assail me column after column, and month after month, with calumny and abuse, forgetting how justly I might retort and retaliate were I so disposed—never having been a defaulter for a farthing of moneys paid to me by Government, much less having had to abscond from my country on account of it, and allowed twenty years to

elapse without the repayment of public moneys applied to private purposes.

149. Garbling and suppression. Mr. Brown's never-failing resource when foiled.—Suppresses Mr. Milroy's letter and even his explanation till threatened.

Then, Sir, when other means fail you to make out a case against me, you betake yourself to your never-failing resources of *garbling and suppression*. Thus you published garbled reports of evidence given before the Committee on Public Accounts, while you suppressed my own explanations in reply to the Auditor, in regard to the various circumstances under which the deposits were made and increased in the Bank, the greater part of which took place in 1856, when I was absent in Europe, and had personally no more to do with them, and no more knowledge of them than yourself, until I returned in April, 1856. You also suppress my own and Mr. Hodgins' explanations in regard to the matters referred to in Mr. Milroy's evidence,* and make an outrageous attack upon me for the contemptible sum of £29, while you so garbled Mr. Milroy's evidence† as to make it the pretext for an infamous attack upon me in the *Globe* of the following day—accompanying your attack (in order to give it the more deadly point,) with the heartless expression of your "deepest regret" on my account. I acknowledge to have felt myself so much startled by it that two days afterwards I called upon Mr. Milroy to show him the checks in favor of various parties on which he had paid out the sum of £2,000 the previous December, instead of its having been paid out in one sum, as stated in the *Globe*. What was my surprise to learn, that the very morning of the *Globe's* garbled report and violent attack, Mr. Milroy had addressed a note to you, showing that you had incorrectly given his evidence and done injustice to me. The next day, you did not publish or acknowledge Mr. Milroy's note, nor yet the next, when he went to you, and insisted on the correction being made, or he would publish his note in another paper. Thus pressed, you were obliged to do something to avoid exposure; and in the *Globe*, four days after your garbling and attack, you said that you had learned by a note from Mr. Milroy that he had not represented me as having checked out the £2,000 in one sum; but you added nothing more; you did not publish the note, nor did you withdraw or refer to your previous misstatement and attack, but left the effect of them uneffaced and unweakened. And now you republish Mr. Milroy's evidence, but sup-

* Nevertheless Dr. Ryerson's right to the amount of the interest in question under the circumstances of the case, and was acknowledged by the Hon. Attorney General Macdonald in his remarks in the House of Assembly on the 20th July, reported in the *Globe* of the next day, as follows:

"Attorney General Macdonald was glad to hear the member for Grenville (Mr. Patrick) speak as he had done with regard to Dr. Ryerson. No doubt Dr. Ryerson was legally wrong, but he had a right to the money, and never attempted to throw any concealment over it. But, when he (the Attorney General) told him that he was legally wrong, and that the interest invariably followed the principal, he at once offered to provide security, and had now given back the money, no doubt at a considerable sacrifice."

* See pages 293-294 of the Evidence.

† See page 110 of the Evidence.

press Mr. Hodgins' and my own explanations in reference to it.

150. Mr. Brown's petty system of warfare and spite.—Examples.—Mr. Morrison.—Mr. Mackenzie.—Dr. Rae.—Col. Prince.—County Council.—His reckless violence.

So you quote the evidence of the Hon. J. C. Morrison, late Receiver General, in reference to the question of law to contradict what I had said in reference to the question of equity. So you suppressed Mr. Mackenzie and Dr. Rae's corrections of your misrepresentations of them, as you refused to insert my reply to your attacks.*—So you lately garbled Colonel Prince's letter, suppressing half sentences, whole sentences, and half paragraphs. And so I have detected you in seven false quotations of my reports, and in misstatements without number, apart from your playing a game of all sides in your speeches, editorials, alliances, and negotiations.

Then, also, in June, after the publication of all your attacks and "awful disclosures" in regard to my pretended defalcations, plunder, &c., the Municipal Council of the United Counties of York and Peel visited the Educational Department (in my absence,) and afterwards passed a resolution indicative of undiminished confidence in me, which, with the Warden's note enclosing it, was as follows :

* In a letter to the *Colonist* of the 21st of January, 1859, Mr. W. L. Mackenzie says :—"I seldom complain of such strictures upon my conduct as you made last Tuesday—but had some curiosity as to whether the *Colonist* would serve me as the *Globe* did in the York Legislative Council election case—misrepresent my conduct, and refuse to LET ITS READERS SEE A TEMPERATE ANSWER, EVEN AS A PAID ADVERTISEMENT."

MR. MACKENZIE would scarcely have believed 20 or 30 years ago that he would ever see a course adopted by any reform paper so tyrannical and so utterly subversive of all free thought or discussion as that he describes, but it was left for the *Globe* dictator to inaugurate so detestable a system in Upper Canada.

DR. RAE, the celebrated Arctic Navigator, in a lecture delivered in Toronto, and reported in the *Leader* of the 20th of January, thus refers to the dishonest tyranny of the *Globe*. "There is a certain paper in this town which frequently took him to task, but that was only amusement to him. He had seen statements in this paper—he might say he alluded to the *Globe*—(applause.)—regarding the Hudson's Bay Company, which he knew were not true. He sent several letters to this journal explaining those things, but not one of them was ever inserted, and he was obliged to have recourse to the columns of a paper published in the city of Hamilton. (Applause.) And what more was done by this paper? Every letter which had been satisfactorily answered by him in England were published in the *Globe*, and yet not a single column; nay, not even a single square, was allowed him to reply EVEN THOUGH HE WERE WILLING TO PAY FOR IT AS AN ADVERTISEMENT. (Loud applause.) He spoke warmly upon this matter, but the conduct of that journal to him was most unwarranted, but he did not expect anything else from it, for it was its usual course to deny every one whom it attacked the power of replying. (Loud applause.)"

HON. COL. PRINCE's letter is published in full in the *Colonist* of the 20th January.

"WARDEN'S OFFICE, Toronto, 15th June.

"DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in forwarding the enclosed copy of a resolution of the Municipal Council of the United Counties of York and Peel, adopted on Saturday last.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Yours truly.

"(Signed.) JOSEPH HARTMAN,
"Warden, U. C. Y. & P.

"The Rev. E. Ryerson, D. D.,
"Chief Superintendent of Education.

"Resolved unanimously,—That the Council having had the pleasure of visiting the Normal and Model Schools, desire to express the gratification they felt in seeing the beautiful selections of Sculpture and Paintings, and also the admirable School Apparatus and Maps of Canadian manufacture. They desire further to express their opinion that Upper Canada owes a debt of gratitude to the Chief Superintendent for his devotedness to the cause of Education, and for the high standard which our present system has already obtained, and trust he may be long spared to discharge the responsible duties of that office.

"(Signed.) J. ELLIOTT,
Clerk Council, U. C. Y. & P.

A copy of the foregoing note and resolution was sent to the *Globe* for publication; but you refused to publish them, notwithstanding the majority of the members composing the Council of the United Counties of York and Peel were older Reformers than yourself, and notwithstanding the Warden is one of the most justly honored members of the Legislative Assembly, and incomparably superior to yourself in the best qualities of a man and a statesman.* Your suppression of such a document from such a body of men is only one of your daily acts of unfairness, tyranny and hatred, and shows how little of liberty or truth would exist in the country, were your will supreme, and the *Globe* the only medium of thought and intelligence.

In your reckless violence you attack the whole Normal School Establishment, representing the expenses of it in 1857 twice as large as they were in 1852, when the grant in support of the Normal and Model Schools is only £500 a year more now than it was in 1852, and it has not been increased since 1853. It is said that Nero set Rome on fire for his own amusement, and fiddled and danced at the sight; but it is left for you to assail the vital establish-

* At the late January meeting of the Council a resolution still more complimentary to Dr. Ryerson, was passed unanimously. At a meeting of the Council held the next day a brother-in-law of one of the Editors of the *Globe*, who happened to be a member, sought to effect a third petty diversion in favor of Mr. Brown by an explanatory political resolution condemnatory of Dr. Ryerson's right to reply to Mr. Brown's gross personal attacks, but his ungracious attempt was defeated by a large vote.

ment of our educational system to gratify your rage against me.

151. "Salary" the first, second, and third thought in Mr. Brown's mind.

Then, Sir, more than twice three times, you attack my *salary*, showing that salary occupies the first, second and third place in your thoughts, though it had nothing to do with the subjects of discussion. You speak of my "illegal salary of £500," and then of its having been "illegally raised." If I have been receiving an "illegal salary of £500" since 1850, why did you not before attack such an "illegal" proceeding? Now, Sir, your own *Weekly Globe* of the 12th July, 1850, contains a report of the discussion in the House of Assembly on the School Act of 1850, and by that report it will be seen that three successive motions were made to fix my salary at less than £500, and were rejected by large majorities; and it was enacted that my "salary should be of the same amount as that now provided by law, or as may be hereafter provided by law, for the Superintendent of Education in Lower Canada."† Since then the salary of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada has been increased, he resolving to retire unless his salary was made equal to that of a puisné judge; and the law requires that I should receive the same salary as the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada. You say not a word about the salary of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, though his salary is paid out of the same public revenue as mine;‡ nor do you venture to lay down the principle that the office of Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada is to be placed on inferior footing to that of the same office in Lower Canada; or that the former is less onerous, or has been less efficient or successful than the latter. These facts and considerations you keep out of sight—showing that your object is resentment, not truth—that though pretending to be a statesman, you are guided in legislation and government, not by general principles, but by momentary passions and personal antipathies. However, I have no solicitude on that subject; I shall be contented, as I have been in times past, with whatever my

country [not you] shall think proper to allow me for my services.

152. The *Globe's* own confession as to the triumph of the Constitutional question of 1844, as to whether patronage should be administered for party purposes or not.

You assail me, for the hundredth or thousandth time, for having attacked "the constitutional rights of the people of Canada" in 1844, when the question I then put to the country (now half a generation since) was as to whether the patronage of the Crown should be administered for party purposes and on party grounds, or upon the principles of equal justice to all classes according to merit, without regard to sect or party. as had been contended for by others and myself twenty years before you found a home in Canada; and according to the *Globe* of the 11th of December, only eight members were in 1844 elected in all Upper Canada opposed to my views: so that whatever I wrote in 1844 was strongly endorsed by the people of Upper Canada; constitutional government was not destroyed, but perpetuated, and a spirit of moderation in the exercise of party power was greatly promoted. Besides, instead of attacking as you do the private and personal character of those with whom I differed in opinion, I referred to it in terms of admiration and eulogy.

153. Mr. Brown's cowardly reproach—His editorial bullies.—A portrait sketch of his career and inconsistencies.

Finally, you have reproached me for my age, reminding me of being in my "dotage;" and upon the principle of the ass kicking the dead lion, you and your corps of editorial bullies set upon me to beat me with might and main, in the confident expectation that I no longer possessed sufficient vigor or courage to withstand your assaults;* but, though conscious that the

* Not content with thus setting his own editors upon Dr. Ryerson, Mr. Brown must fain dragoon all the editors of the Province into making a general onslaught upon him to finish him outright. Thus in the *Globe* of the 17th February, the *Huron Signal* speaking on his behalf, evidently by his authority (for he informs his readers that the *Globe's* renewed and infamous attack on Dr. Ryerson of the 28th January was Mr. Brown's own reply to Dr. Ryerson: see page 81), he thus upbraid the Press for not rushing at once to the rescue on the first "Signal" of distress:—

"We are surprised that the independent Provincial Press has not saved Mr. Brown the trouble of replying. Every editor possessing a spark of honor or independence, should make the plausible Dr. of Divinity understand that the four thousand dollars a year, besides the pickings or "casual advantages," are not given to him as a political pugilist, but as guardian of the education and morals of the people. If the independent Press will do its duty, faithfully and fearlessly, Mr. Brown will have little to do in the matter."

Ah! Mr. Brown, after all your efforts, you seem to have got just five small *Globe* allies out of the whole Provincial press, whose kindred effusions you reprint! The moral instincts of the press recoil from—

* For another instance of this "Salary" mania on the part of Mr. Brown, see page 80. It seems to haunt him day and night, judging from his speeches and recent editorials.

† For a striking illustrative instance of Mr. Brown's wilful suppression of Hon. Mr. Galt's reply to him on this very subject see page 80.

‡ The Hon. Attorney General Macdonald, in reply to a question put to Mr. Brown on this subject in the Public Accounts Committee on the 1st of June, 1858, replied as follows:—"I think the Superintendent of Education should have as high a salary as any public functionary in Canada except the Governor General. I think it the most important office in Canada." [Quæst. 257, page 94.]

eye is becoming dim and "the wheel at the cistern" moves more slowly than in former years, and that the bodily strength is abating, I am thankful that, under the Divine blessing, by virtue of cold water and a joint of meat, plenty of work and good humor, I have still enough of life and courage and strength left to meet you face to face; to repel your attacks; to expose your falsehoods; to unravel your sophistry; to detect your forged quotations; to refute your insinuations; to exhibit your inconsistencies; to prove your truthlessness; to hold you up to public view in your true light—a pretended friend of truth, yet closing your columns against the exposure of your own untruths—an abusive assailant of the school system in its weakness, the party manipulator of it in its strength—warmed into public life by the patronage and generosity of a Baldwin, a Hincks, a Morrison, and then their vilifier and slanderer—in succession the calumniator and sycophant of most public men and all parties; assailing the "civil and religious institutions" of Lower Canada at one time, and "guaranteeing" them inviolate at another—at one time warring to the death against the very principle of separate schools, at another time making "an honorable compromise on the question of separate schools"—now filling the land with "eternal hate to Rome," then the "political ally" of the ultra-Romanist champion—then the eulogist of Gavazzi, now the parasite of McGee—one week the fawning dictator of the Judges, the next week the violent traducer of their motives and character—one year holding the right of the Bible for all, and no education without the Bible, another year treating the right of the Bible in the school as an absurdity, and the cry for it as a "sham!"

154. What these letters have demonstrated—The Brown threat to "pitch into" Dr. Ryerson—After years of calumny is now "pitched" out.

Such, Sir, are some of the facts and propositions which I have established in these letters; and such is a summary index of your real spirit and character. Early last spring, when you complained to me of a tax which the Trustees of a School Section, including the village of Bothwell, had imposed upon you for the erection of a brick school house—which tax you denounced as a "downright robbery"—you may well

you and your system of truthless slander, as will the mind of every honorable man who duly estimates your conduct.

* The conduct of other public men in Canada has already been contrasted with that of Mr. Brown in regard to his gross personalities and assaults upon character, with what effect the reader can judge. We now give one more contrast, which shows how the *Pocket Statesman* of Bothwell compares with an eminent Statesman of Lower Canada. Sir H. LaFontaine, in resisting an amendment to the School Law of Lower

recollect that your brother, in your presence, threatened me, that if I made any report on the Separate School question, or interfered with it, "we will pitch into you." I replied, that you might "pitch into" me as soon as you pleased, that I had in successive reports and otherwise expressed my views on the subject, and I would not now withhold any information which I believed might be useful, that my report on the Separate School question was ready and would be delivered to the Provincial Secretary on the following Monday (it being then Saturday), that if you wished to see it you might do so before it was seen by the Government. You said you would come to the Education Office on Monday morning to see it; but you never came; instead of which, in the course of a few days, you began to "pitch into" me, and you have continued to do so until I thought it time to try and "pitch" you out of me. You have heaped upon me insult upon insult, and calumny upon calumny, in hopes that you could do so with impunity, and that the restraints of office and the infirmities of age would prevent any adequate defence on my part.

155. The Marplot's cry for help—The *Globe* the moral poison of the community.—Messrs. Brown and McGee skulk behind their Parliamentary privileges.

And after having thus provoked and forced me from my peaceful and laborious course to meet you in open combat, finding that truth is stronger than falsehood, and an injured man in his own defence, though old, has an advantage over an unjust though powerful assailant, you now attempt to escape by rising the cry "Oh you are hired by the Ministry to write against me; you are injuring my party?" Sir, you are the marplot of any party, as your *Globe* is the moral poison of any community. The last fourteen years are witness that I have no more connection with party than I have with China. I am and have been during my whole official career, on as friendly and

Canada in 1846, said, "that the Hon. member who had moved the amendment (Mr. Laurin) seemed to be wholly forgetful of the fact, that ignorance was a far higher tax than any that could be paid for schools. It was felt, too, in a great many ways. An ignorant man had to pay a tax indirectly whenever he went to market, whenever he engaged in the operation of buying and selling, and often directly, when he was obliged to employ a Notary to draw simple documents that he might well draw himself. He believed that there was a considerable number of people who were opposed to a compulsory tax for supporting common schools, and they were of two classes; the first were those who were rich enough to send their children to college, and who, therefore, grudged the contribution they were obliged to make for their neighbours; the others were those who were so poor that they felt the burden, and so ignorant that they did not desire their children to be less so. He did not, however, think that the opposition of either of these classes ought to prevent the passage of the Bill." [*Mirror of Parliament*, 1846, page 145.]

communicative terms with the members of one party as with those of the other; and I have nothing whatever to do with the questions and rivalries that divide them. But though I have had nothing to do with any party, I have not hesitated to repel the attacks upon the school system or myself of any man of any party, affecting him or his party relations as it might be. These letters show that you are the assailant, that you have caused the controversy, and you alone are responsible for the results. I have every reason to believe, that both you and Mr. McGee, after having challenged me through the press, will desert your own chosen battle ground, and skulk behind the ramparts of Parliamentary privileges; and there be very valiant where your adversary cannot meet you, and as witty and eloquent as the most notorious of the great O'Connell's "fools," in assailing an absent individual.* Such an abuse of your Parliamentary privileges, such an imposition upon the members of the Legislature and plunder of the time of the country, and such a mode of showing "fair play" to the object of your own newspaper attacks, is quite in harmony with your bold and noble natures! But that will not the less prevent me from answering you as my convictions of duty may dictate.

156. What Mr. Brown may do in the freaks of unsuspecting credulity, but what he *cannot* do.

It is possible, Sir, that you may attain the object of your political ambition, when,

as a Minister of the Crown, you will, doubtless, endeavor to carry your threats against me into execution. It is possible, in the mysteries of Providence, and the freaks of unsuspecting credulity, you may yet be able to undo and trample to dust the work I have been endeavoring to construct and build up, and that you may be able to avepge yourself upon me by reducing my family and myself to poverty; but as I have never indulged the desire for wealth, so I do not fear poverty. Your threats of loss of salary and office do not therefore terrify or disturb me. I have confidence in the justice of my native country, which I have endeavored to serve from my youth, that it will not leave me a prey to your machinations in old age. But be that as it may, though you may reduce me to want, you cannot make me a slave; though you may cause me to die a very poor man, you cannot prevent me from dying a *freeman*, or from defending as long as I am able, the right of individual choice in regard to schools and religious instruction, on the part of both Protestants and Roman Catholics, the rights of school electors, of trustees, and of municipalities against the subversive attempts of Mr. McGee and yourself.

I have, &c.,

E. RYERSON.

Toronto, Feb. 1, 1859.

P.S. to the 12th Letter.—Messrs. Brown and McGee skulking behind the ramparts of Parliamentary privilege to renew their attacks—Corrupting and debasing influence of the *Globe* newspaper.

157. Messrs. Brown, Dorion, and McGee in Parliament on the School Question—the Brown-Dorion Prussian despotism.

SIR—Since writing the foregoing letter, I have read what you and Mr. Dorion have said in Parliament about the school negotiations of July, and what Mr. McGee has had to say about myself. In your explanations you explain not a word of what Mr. Drummond called "an honorable *compromise* on the separate school question." On that point, the public are as much in the dark as ever.† Mr. Dorion said "In Upper

Canada, it is well known the Protestants are not satisfied (with the school system) on the one hand, nor Catholics on the other." Mr. Dorion ought to have stated the reverse if it appertained to him to say anything on the subject, as far as the Protestants of Upper Canada are concerned, as there is no country the school system of which has so strong a hold upon the almost unanimous feelings of the people, and the only shadow of dissatisfaction among the Protestant population of Upper Canada with the school

* Two instances of this species of cowardice as predicted are furnished by Mr. Brown himself on the 9th and 18th of February, (some time after this letter was written. (See page 86.) Mr. McGee's renewed attack on his first reappearance in Parliament, is also referred to in the P.S. to this letter. [See page 93.] Mr. Brown's is but the echo of Mr. McGee's attack, which in duty bound he has to make, since the two hunt in couples. *Par nobile fratrum!*

† Since this was written, the recent speech of Mr. Thibaudeau on the Address has been published, and that part of it relating to these mysterious "compromises" inserted in a note on page 68. The revelations there made fully account for the death-like silence of Mr. Brown on this subject. He is fluent while secure behind his parliamentary desk, he reiterates his false and calumnious charges against the absent, but on the nature of Mr. Thibaudeau's "guarantees" on the school question, and Mr. Drummond's "acc-

system is that which the *Globe* has been intent upon exciting against the provision of it which permits Roman Catholics to have separate schools at all, while the point of dissatisfaction among a portion of the Roman Catholics has been, that the law did not make further provision for separate schools. Then Mr. Dorion and yourself agreed to make inquiries into the "systems prevailing in such countries as Belgium, Ireland, and Prussia, just as if inquiries had not been made in those countries before constructing our own system; just as if inquiries ought not to have been as to whether every practicable feature had not been already adopted from those systems; and just as if you had not, during four long years, sought to rouse all Upper Canada against my introducing anything from *despotic Prussia* into our school system.*

Then, Sir, you represent Mr. Dorion as having urged in your negotiations with him, that "a large section of the people desired a larger amount of religious instruction for their children than was obtained in the National Schools." That is true so far as the Roman Catholics are concerned, and that is the very reason they contend for separate schools, and object to any religious instruction whatever in the mixed schools. Bishop Charbonnel maintained that mixed schools must be wholly *secular* in the extreme cases in which he would consent to Roman Catholic children attending such schools at all. The Bishop's words in one of his letters to me are as follows:

"I say that if the Catechism were sufficiently taught in the family or by the Pastor, so rare in this large diocese, and if the mixed schools were exclusively for secular instruction, and without danger to our Catholics in regard to masters, books, and companions, the Catholic Hierarchy might tolerate it, as I have done in certain localities, after having made due inquiry."

The very object therefore at which you and Mr. Dorion professed to have aimed, is the very thing to which the Catholic Bishop objects in mixed schools—showing how little you knew of what you were doing, or that your negotiations were a farce,

rances," he has not one word to say. In fact all our information on this subject has been derived from Lower Canada sources—as well as the proof of his bargain and sale of Upper Canada rights!

* For note on Mr. Brown's consistency on the question of "Prussian despotism" in our school system, see note on page 76. If "Prussian despotism," said by Mr. Brown to have been introduced into Upper Canada by Dr. Ryerson, merited his (Mr. B's) fierce and reckless denunciation when men believed he had some spark of Upper Canadian patriotism, what amount of scorn, and invective should he not indulge in to the man (and that a Lower Canadian too) who would not only force such a calamity upon Upper Canada, but even make Mr. Brown the instrument of doing so!

or a pretext, on your part, to accomplish other objects.

158. *The right of the Brown-Dorion Government to dictate how much or how little religious instruction shall be given in the schools questioned.—Example of Prussia.*

Then, Sir, by what right, religious, legal or constitutional were you and Mr. Dorion going to introduce a law to say how much or little religious instruction should be given in our national schools? That is a right that belongs to the parents and pastors of the children, and the elected Trustees of each school—not to you, or Mr. Dorion, or myself, or the Legislature itself. You proposed to usurp an authority which the National Board of Education in Ireland—despotic as it is—does not assume. You seemed to have imagined that we are living in the palmist days of Church and State union! Nay, that under your "little brief authority," Upper Canada (for Mr. Dorion had "checked" you out of Lower Canada,) had already become a Belgium or a Prussia, the former of which is the most Catholic country of Northern Europe, and the latter makes larger "compromises" in behalf of separate schools for Protestant and Roman Catholic than we do by the separate school law of Upper Canada.*

* The Right Hon. C. B. Alderley, M.P. (Vice President of the Privy Council Committee on Education,) in an address near Birmingham, on the 7th January, 1869, thus points out the difference in the right of a Government such as ours, and that of Prussia, to dictate what shall and what shall not be the nature and amount of the religious instruction to be given in the schools. Mr. Alderley said: "Let him disabuse the minds of all those interested in this important question of the oft-quoted example which other countries present to us, but which he believed to be wholly inapplicable to our case. They were continually meeting with speakers in and out of Parliament who cited Prussia, Austria, and France in this manner. Well, these countries had autocratic Governments, where the sovereign power did every thing for the people, and the people did nothing for themselves. Other orators threw in our teeth the institutions of America, but in that country there was a tyrant of another description equally fatal to individuality of action—he meant the will of the masses. England did not present either the one or the other of these phases, but something between the two, and to his mind something vastly superior and preferable to either. (Applause.) Here the rule was that the State should in no case interfere, except where it was absolutely necessary. In autocratic countries there was a king patron, who gave education as he pleased, as in France, where the whole system was organised by the Government; whilst in Prussia they went still further, and so got rid of what was a great difficulty in our way—namely, the policy of the State, affording not only education but religion to the people. In Prussia there was a government of religion, concocted by the Government, and of course enforced on the people. In America the difficulty was removed in a different way—by elimination—the religious element was omitted altogether, that primary part which this country never could consent to eliminate. (Cheers.) England, therefore, could not imitate the examples of either autocratic or democratic countries. Where then, in this country ought the State to interfere? He maintained that here the State should not aid or interfere with anything which could possibly be done without its assistance. The State must do all agree-

159. Three men of irreconcilable views in School matters preparing to settle the school question of Upper Canada on a satisfactory basis.

And then as a climax of the puerile, inconsistent and absurd proceedings by which our school system was to be revolutionized and myself superseded, Mr. McGee was to patronize you as your "political ally," in establishing what you call "one uniform system of instruction and management for the common schools." And Mr. McGee says you did not sacrifice your principles in these negotiations. That is possible—for where nothing is, nothing can be sacrificed. But the political and moral phenomenon is, the triumvirate of yourself, the man of no separate schools, and Mr. Dorian, the advocate of what you called the "infamous" separate school bill of 1855, and Mr. McGee, the man of nothing but separate schools, the man who would as soon throw his "little prattling daughter, with eyes blue as ocean water" into Lake Ontario as to send her to the mixed school—such a triumvirate becoming "political allies" to establish "one uniform system of instruction and management for the common schools" of Upper Canada! Mr. Dorian, from his point of view of the separate school bill of 1855, you from the point of view that that bill was a deadly blow aimed at the school system of Upper Canada, and Mr. McGee from the point of view "we only want to keep our children out of your common schools," all, as you state in your explanation, "arrive at the conviction that you could bring down to Parliament a measure which, by giving increased religious instruction, would enable us to discontinue separate schools, with the assent of all reasonable men in Parliament and out of it!" Mr. McGee declaring that it is the *association* of the mixed school that constitutes the danger to faith and morals, and the sacred right of Roman Catholics to have separate schools, without the full recognition of which no Government can stand; yet a political ally with you to "discontinue separate schools;" and no sacrifice of principle on either side! Now such a coalition to establish and extend a system of mixed schools is impossible; but such a coalition to weaken and destroy it is perfectly consistent and natural.

160. The personal attack of Mr. Brown's "ally" in Parliament applauded by the *Globe*, as being thankful for the smallest favor, while the 300,000 men are not even worthy of a line.

I have now a few words to say to Mr. McGee, and then a few words to you both,

gate national acts—such as the conduct of war and of foreign affairs, the administration of finance, and of the laws—but it was a distinct rule and principle in this country that ought else should be left for the people to do themselves, simply because they could do it best, and were interested in its being done."

and then to dismiss you to your reflections. Mr. McGee has taken the first occasions possible, in the present session, to assail me from his place in Parliament in terms of the grossest insult, slander, and abuse.* A gentleman in Hamilton, the other day, characterised to me Mr. McGee's first speech (as I had not seen it) as consisting of three parts—the first part as, an effusion of disgusting egotism; the second, an evacuation of filthy abuse; the third, a cringing, wolf-like suppliancy for confidence and indulgence—until he can get his 300,000 men in fighting order, for a second Irish campaign in Upper Canada. That speech you praise in the *Globe* as a master-piece of Legislative eloquence, especially its assaults upon me, while you keep from your readers Mr. McGee's threat of 300,000 crusaders of "More power to the Pope;" as also the Hon. Mr. Sicotte's statement of his "flat refusal" of a seat in your Cabinet, to which you invited him, after you had held him up in the *Globe* as an unworthy minister.†

161. The career of the valiant McGee—In what respect he resembles the "eloquent fools" of O'Connell.

To the accusations of Mr. McGee's speech I have amply replied in the preceding letter. The abuse omitted is but the breath of his congenial atmosphere. He had challenged me through the *Globe*, and to his surprise, I accepted his challenge. But does he come up to the charge of his own seeking? No, he flees from the press, where I can meet him on equal terms, and slinks behind a barrier where I cannot meet him at all; and from his privileged enclosure he vociferates calumnious ribaldry at pleasure. Though a fool is often witty, and sometimes eloquent, he cannot reason. The veteran O'Connell's "eloquent fools" never reasoned. They boasted, they slandered, they declaimed, they threatened, they conspired, they rebelled, they ran away! To reason is foreign to Mr. McGee's nature and habits. He can insult the Queen and her representative; he can insult the British throne, calling it, as he did in December, 1854, "the old harlot of nations," exclaiming, "blessed be God who permitted us to see the day of her tribulation and rejoice." He can insult the Protestants of Upper Canada, declaring that the worst danger to the faith and morals of Catholic children is their grouping with Protestant children, denouncing the school law because "it assumes that all sects are equal," and exclaiming, "we have never been a sect, and will not consent

* To keep up the reality of the "alliance," Mr. Brown fails not to echo these petty slanders of his "ally."—See notes on pages 80 and 82.

† See notes on pages 95 and 96.

to write ourselves down beside every ism of yesterday!" Mr. McGee may, last of all, insult and abuse me, but all this is only proof of his want of capacity and resources to establish anything that he has asserted, and that I have disproved. He attempts not to prove what he had alleged—that the school system in Ireland was acceptable to the hierarchy and clergy of all denominations in Ireland; nor do you or Mr. Dorion attempt to establish that absurd statement. Ireland is no longer put forward by you, Belgium and Prussia are becoming your favorite standards of appeal, and are now heard of for the first time as forming part of your July negotiation; but if need be, I shall exhibit the characteristics of their school systems as I have those of the Irish system, so far as they have not been already incorporated into our own school system.* Nor does Mr. McGee attempt to prove any one of the propositions I quoted from his speeches in the seventh of this series of letters, much less what he denied and called upon me to prove in his challenging letter. To reason requires common sense; Mr. McGee does not therefore reason. To reason truly requires common honesty; the light of such investigation Mr. McGee dreads as does the owl the light of day.

162. Mr. Brown's ability to reason viewed in the O'Connell light.—Samples.—Further personal distinctions merited.

In this respect you and Mr. McGee stand upon a par. You both hate the light of knowledge on the school question, and for the simple reason that your deeds against it are evil. The light that I have thrown upon the Irish National system by the extracts given and the comparisons instituted in my last Annual Report, has filled you with dismay and indignation, instead of exciting your gratitude, as it would have done, had you wished the Canadian public to be fully informed on the subject. In the absence of any justification of your conduct, and being unable to refute what I have proved in my report, you seek to divert attention from your own weakness and misdeeds by personal assaults upon me; and to every fact and argument I urge in regard to the school law and school system, you reply, "you are a 'defaulter,' a 'plunderer,' a 'stealer' of public money." This is the staple of your and Mr. McGee's argumentation—the perfection of your logic; a species of argument which you seem to have adopted from the Marquis in *MOLIERE'S—Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes: Tarte à la crème—morbien, tarte à la crème!* "Eh bien, que veux tu dire, tarte à la crème?" "Parbleu,

tarte à la crème, chevalier!" "Mais encore?" "Tarte à la crème!" "De-nous un peu tes raisons." "Tarte à la crème! Mais il faut expliquer ta pensée, ce me semble." "Tarte à la crème." "Que trouvez-vous là à redire?" "Moi, rien;—tarte à la crème!"

Now for Mr. McGee's poetic genius, as displayed in my seventh letter, and for your powers of argumentation, in replying, with the aid of Mr. McGee, to my varied arguments on the school question by the simple magic words "defaulter," "plunderer," "stealer," it seems to me that he deserves the title of *Poet Laureate to Les Femmes Savantes of Molière*, while you certainly merit not only the title of "Honorable," but that of *Marquis—Marquis de l'Ecole des Femmes*; two European titles of honor conferred on two distinguished *Malheureux* of Canada, whose merits have been so overlooked by the country to whose shores they have been driven by the adverse winds of other climes.

163. Significance of the alliance that only Mr. Brown and his "ally" shall combine to assail Dr. Ryerson.—The financial biographies of both these "allies" promised.

But there is a more serious view of this subject to be taken. That two members of the Legislature (and to the honor of Canada, two only) should combine, not to answer my arguments, not to show that my doctrines on the school system are unsound, and my recommendations and measures bad, but to destroy my character, by assailing me in every possible mode of accusation and abuse, is an event as novel as it is ominous.* I have answered your accusations by dis-

* It is gratifying to observe that whenever the success of the School system has been mentioned in the House, and the efforts of Dr. Ryerson to promote that object alluded to, such remarks have been well received. The following report from the *Leader* of a recent reference of this kind, in which the Hon. Sidney Smith, Postmaster Genl., repelled with spirit the attacks of the chief of the McGee alliance, are peculiarly gratifying and encouraging. Mr. Smith said:—"With respect to the malignant attacks made by the senior member for Toronto on the Chief Superintendent of Education, their malignity would be their best antidote. That Rev. gentleman had rendered the greatest services to Canada and made himself a name which would live while the country lasted. (Cheers.) Upper Canada would not stand in its present proud position were it not for the efforts of the Chief Superintendent of Education. (Cheers.) The school system presided over by that Rev. gentleman was the best that could be devised. Probably it might have been amazingly improved had the members of the short-lived Cabinet succeeded in getting information from Prussia, Ireland and Belgium on the subject of education. The late proposed liberality of the senior member for Toronto would not, surely, be unfruitful. Time was when he professed no such wish to know anything about, much less to copy the systems of education pursued in Roman Catholic countries like Belgium. (Hear, hear.) So far as he (Mr. Smith) was personally concerned, his opinions on the school system of Canada were the same now as they were when in company with the Attorney General West of the Brown-Dorion Cabinet (Mr. J. Sanfield McDonald), he had voted against changing the present system. (Hear.)

* See extract from the Right Hon. Mr. Adderley's speech on page 92.

cussing them *seriatim*. But there is another mode of defending the accused, almost invariably resorted to in judicial proceedings—namely, that of showing, from the character and conduct of the accusers, that their statements are unworthy of credit, and their proceedings are malicious. I have not yet advanced to this legitimate part of my defence, nor do I wish to do so unless compelled by your persistence in your abominable course of proceeding. The financial biographies of yourself and Mr. McGee, embodying much that would be entirely new to the Canadian public, would be an appropriate sequel to these letters, and a just retort of your accusations against myself and other public men. But I forbear at present.

I have, in conclusion, to make two remarks. The first relates to Mr. McGee's threat of a confederation of 300,000 men at his back, which is in imitation of the late O'Connell, who used to threaten the British House of Commons with seven millions at his back, and also of the Irish confederation that used to threaten England with more than a hundred thousand Irish patriots, good men and true, and armed to the teeth. Mr. McGee is already commencing his old vocation in Canada. Though he slandered O'Connell to the death, he attempts to clothe himself with the old lion's skin; but the braying from beneath it is not the roar of the old monarch. However, the fact of a man threatening in the face of the Commons of Canada, that a large religious community of 300,000 is at his back as a political confederation, and that man a traditional rebel against the Queen, a denouncer of her throne as "the old harlot of nations;" a praiser of God for her "tribulation;" an avowed enemy of our system of public instruction; a sworn political propagandist of "More Power to the Pope;"—such an event is a novelty and a monition which should be followed by a disclaimer on the part of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, or by preparations on the part of all men in Canada who value British connexion, or civil liberty or Municipal rights, or universal education.*

164. Debasing influence of the *Globe* newspaper—Its attacks upon every thing which gives sacredness to law.—Its systematic partisanship.—Its steady ministration to the worst and darker passions of the mind.—Mr. Brown's editorial subterfuge (note.)

My second remark is, that you, in your *Globe*, are most effectually preparing the way for that dark chapter of commotion

if not of civil war, which looms in the future of Upper Canada, if Mr. McGee's threat of a 300,000 confederacy at his bidding, has the least foundation in truth. Your attacks on all that represents the Queen in Canada; your attacks upon all that gives strength and sacredness to law, by your assaults upon the Judges of it in its highest and most general relations; your systematic attempts to take away the character of every man who stands in the path of your ambition, or differs from you in opinion; your abnegation of everything like *principle* in party, when you seek combinations without the slightest regard to consistency or agreement in principle except in reference to office; your *cooking* the very information you profess to send forth of all that transpires in or out of Parliament in order that it shall tell one side, and only one side, of each question,*—so that your readers cannot learn the truth of any public matter of importance without consulting some other medium of intelligence than the *Globe*; your making your whole politics, not a discussion of principles, which is patriotism, but a discussion of men, which is the essence of faction; your attempts to subvert the very educational institutions which you once professed to support; your daily exciting hatred instead of charity, and ministering to all the worse and darker passions of the mind, instead of ministering to the more genial and nobler feelings of the heart; all this course of proceeding on your part, Sir, is calculated to sap the foundations of public order and morality, to weaken and dissolve the ties that bind society together, to bring upon us that state of faction, riot, lawlessness and anarchy in which Mr. McGee has lived, moved and had his being in Ireland, and which breathes in his boast of 300,000 confederates in Canada. I had hoped for a better atmosphere for the intellectual and moral growth of the youth of Upper Canada than that with which you and Mr. McGee are doing your utmost to envelope them; I still hope that if a sense of responsibility and regard to the first and vital elements of our country's progressive civilization can impose no checks to your all-absorbing ambition, the diffusion of knowledge and the substratum of good sense and sound patriotism in the mass of the people, may save the present and future generations of Upper Canada from the catastrophe of success in

signed by Mr. Brown's Roman Catholic allies in Toronto.

* See, in a note to Appendix No. 22, a quotation from an inflammatory address to the Roman Catholics in North Wellington, the device of Mr. McGee, and

• See especially pages 13, 42, 57 (a note), 80, 87, and 88 (a note).

your and Mr. McGee's most unnatural and most profligate combination.*

165. The "Westminster Review" and the Rev. Robert Hall, on such men as Mr. Brown.

Sir, I can truly say that, though I have individual partialities, I cherish no political party predilections. My strongest earthly

* Mr. Brown in a recent speech affects to disclaim responsibility for the disgraceful articles which almost daily appear in the *Globe*, as he seems ashamed of them; but in the editorial reply to Dr. R. of not later than the 16th Dec. last, he is pompously announced as "*Editor-in-Chief and Proprietor*" of that paper. If such a relation to a newspaper (including its whole control and management) does not also include responsibility for its articles—its whole tone and spirit,—then it would be impossible to bring home responsibility to any one, unless the more manly French system of signing each article with the name of the writer were followed. Mr. Brown adopts the English system of editorial management and must abide by it. He cannot adopt the English anonymous system and plead the French individual system, without fairly and honestly carrying it out. But he will do neither, as he prefers the fast and loose system by which he can without detection or responsibility infuse deadly poison into the heart of the community: In the report of the recent speech of Attorney General Macdonald, the following very just remarks occur which are, as usual, carefully suppressed in the *Globe*:—"He (the Attorney General) was bound to say that although there had been some hard hitting on both sides, the debates had generally been conducted with fairness, and truth had been evolved. There had been one or two exceptions, however. One of them was the junior member for Montreal, (Mr. McGee). The other exception was the hon. member for Toronto, (Mr. Brown) who had always been an exception, for he invariably commenced his orations by attacking the character and motives of his political adversaries. All the other members of the House had but one means of communicating their views to the public, viz., by the reports of their speeches, and if they said anything harsh or improper, after it was said they had to abide by it, for it went abroad. Not so the hon. member (Mr. Brown) of whom he was speaking, for he had a press for his own special use, and if he failed to say anything at night in the House, he could and did say it next morning in the *Globe*, and what he was afraid to say to hon. members to their face, he wrote behind their backs and published to the world. **□** But this was not all, for if any other hon. member said anything which he thought would militate against his interests, he coolly suppressed it from the reports **□** which were presumed to give an honest view of the discussions. As a case in point, he would only refer to the explanation of the hon. member for St. Hyacinthe, (Mr. Sicotte) which it did not suit the member for Toronto to print, and so it was suppressed. This, however, was not very surprising when all the circumstances were taken into account. It was well known how he had sneered at and disparaged the abilities of Mr. Sicotte, how he had impugned his integrity as a public man and did all in his power to ruin him; yet he had found it desirable to invite him to form part of his Government! Yes, the very man he had so lately maligned and slandered. It was equally well known, too, how the member for St. Hyacinthe had met those advances, and how in this House he had explained that he had given Mr. Dorion a "*flat refusal*." Was it to be wondered at that he had suppressed this piece of intelligence? Not at all. The public were indebted to Dr. Ryerson for ample proofs of the system of the suppression and mutilation towards adversaries, so uniformly practised by that hon. member, who wrote himself "*proprietor and editor-in-chief*" of the paper. But of what use was

wish is, the happiness, progress and grandeur of my native country. That vital principle of progress and consequent grandeur, you are daily assailing. The *Westminster Review* for July, 1850, well remarked, "*It is individual character that constitutes progress.*" Sir, it is individual character that you are every day endeavoring to destroy, while by making your politics a mere contention about men and place, you contribute to corrupt society, and undermine the foundations of public liberty. I invite you, in conclusion, and entreat the reader to ponder well the following words of that princely orator of the Baptist pulpit in England, and eloquent advocate of civil and religious liberty—the late Robert Hall:—

"The era of parties, flowing from the animation of freedom, is ever followed by an era of faction, which marks its feebleness and decay. Parties are founded on principle, factions on men; under the first, the people are contending for a system that shall be pursued; under the second, they are candidates for servitude, and are only debating whose livery they shall wear." "When they see men united who agree in nothing but their hostility to the minister, they fall at first into amazement and irresolution; till, perceiving political debate is a mere scramble for profit and power, they endeavor to become as corrupt as their betters. It is not in that rook of faction which deafens the ear and sickens the heart the voice of Liberty is heard. She turns from the disgusting scene, and regards these struggles as the pangs and convulsions in which she is doomed to expire."

I have, &c.,

R. RYERSON.

Toronto, Feb. 2nd, 1850.

it to be proprietor and editor-in-chief, if one could not use the paper for one's own purposes? However, it would be remembered, how conveniently the hon. member disavowed in this House what it was inconvenient for him to be responsible for in the *Globe*. Oh no! he had not written the offensive article! or he had never seen it! or he was absent at the time! or could not read all that was written! Now, would not every honest man see that the proprietor and editor-in-chief of a paper gave it the direction which he desired it to have, and that any one who presumed to put anything in it adverse to his views would come under censure. But, supposing that an article he disapproved of appeared without his consent, was it not quite competent for him, on the next issue, to withdraw the offensive writing and to make amends? But who had ever known the *Globe* to make a retraction or to apologize for a slanderous and untruthful report?

In estimating the value of Mr. Brown's disclaimer of responsibility for the *Globe's* editorials, it should never be forgotten that these very editorials are on the eve of every general or particular election carefully culled, and the most disgraceful and poisonous of them reprinted with a view to damage the character and interests of every opposing candidate.

APPENDIX

TO

DR. RYERSON'S LETTERS

IN REPLY TO

THE ATTACKS OF MR. BROWN.

NOTE.—In the foregoing letters and notes, examples are given of the spirit of the *Globe*, in 1855 and other years, in regard to the Roman Catholic Church and its Priests; and from numerous *Editorials* of the *Globe* during the years 1856 and 1857, relating to the Roman Catholic Church and Separate Schools, the following few extracts are made,—illustrative of the general spirit and character of the sentiments and proceedings by which Mr. Brown has obtained the confidence and support of a large portion of the Protestants of Upper Canada, and in the face of all of which he has formed an ultra-Roman Catholic coalition, by which he receives the support of the very class of Priests, and those under their influence, against whom he, in past years, so warned the people of Upper Canada.

Mr. Brown, in a recent speech in the Legislative Assembly, objected to being held personally responsible for all that appeared in his own paper! If he writes himself "Editor-in-Chief," as well as "Proprietor" of the *Globe*, and is not responsible for its *Editorials*, who is? No other name appears on the paper, and of whom besides Mr. Brown can any injured party seek redress, or who else than he is responsible to the public for the *Editorials* and character of the *Globe*? Only to think of the Head of a Department not being responsible for the documents which go forth from his own Department, because he has clerks or assistants to aid him, and who write many of his letters! And how would such a Head of a Department appear, when called to an account for such letters, to say, "Oh! I did not write them myself; such and such a clerk wrote them?" But Mr. Brown actually employs persons to write for him, and then pretends that he is not responsible for what they write! This paltry subterfuge of Mr. Brown, to shirk the responsibility of what he is the "Editor-in-Chief," is as shabby as it is unmanly and absurd. But the following extracts of his *Editorials* are only specimens of what characterized the *Globe* for years, and therefore present a *mirror* of Mr. Brown's late sentiments, and spirit, and avowed objects. He objects *now* to their reproduction and exposure, thus casting discredit on their truthfulness and sincerity; but has he not himself, on the eve of every election contest, cut and culled from these very *Editorials*, the most envenomed of his daily assaults upon every man who dared to differ with him, or whose convictions and independence led him to vote in opposition to Mr. Brown.

(From the *Globe*, 11th December, 1855.)

1. "BISHOP CHARBONNEL IN THE FIELD.—MANIFESTO FOR PETERBORO'.—We publish below a circular just issued by the Right Reverend Father in God, Doctor Armandus Francis Mary, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto, to his clergy, on the subject of separate schools. * * * In his circular, he not only commands them to work for the candidate who will carry out most effectually the objects of the Church, but he offers himself to assist in the labour, and we expect to hear soon that the Right Reverend Father is stumping the County of Peterboro' on behalf of Mr. Conger, as he did that of Kent in 1851, in support of Mr. Rankin. It is of no use, then, for the supporters of the priest policy and party to attempt to cover over the game which the Romish clergy are playing; their Toronto chief has, with his usual open-mouthed indiscretion, shown their hand. We give Dr. Charbonnel credit for more openness of character and less astuteness than generally mark the Romish priest. * * * We imagine that this will settle at once and for ever all attempts to prove that the contest in Peterboro' is not a struggle whether the ideas of the ultra-montane Roman Catholic, or of the liberal Protestant shall prevail. Dr. Charbonnel and his friends have chosen a side—is their candidate Mr. Conger or Mr. Ferguson? Let that question be answered by another—who do the Roman Catholics of Peterboro' support? Does one of them say a word for Mr. Ferguson? Are not all working for Mr. Conger? * * * Here is Bishop Charbonnel on the one side, a foreign priest, not long from Rome, who can neither write nor speak English, who tells you what he wants and what he must have. He does so with an infinite amount of confidence, which shows that he relies on the strong phalanx of French Canadian Roman Catholics to support his claim. He lays down the law, and we do not wonder at it. The success which the priest party have met with in purchasing Upper Canadian support may well make them confident. They can hardly help believing that they have the monopoly of power. We desire to ask the electors of Peterboro' whether they are willing to put their necks under the foot of this foreign priest—whether they are willing that he shall choose the institutions under which their children shall be trained? They know too well what misery Popish authority has brought on all countries where it has been endured, to have any hesitation in answering.

(From the *Daily Globe*, 11th July, 1856.)

2. "A NEWSPAPER PRELATE.—Our readers are aware that Bishop Charbonnel has found

it necessary of late to "ride the high horse,"—if a vulgar phrase may be allowed,—in order that certain heedless portions of his flock might be taught to remember that they have an overseer and ruler. First, we found Mr. Drummond snubbed and abused, for having yielded so far to public opinion as to admit certain liberal provisions into his Corporations Bill—and Mr. Drummond and the Government hasten to deprecate the Bishop's wrath, by striking out what he objected to. Then we had him addressing a pungent letter to Mr. O'Farrell, sharply rebuking that faithful, though, for the nonce, erring son of the Church, for having allowed motives of expediency to prevent his going at once for all that the Bishop demanded on the School question. Next, rising from M.P.'s to Executive Councillors, we hear of his reading off from the altar the names of Messrs. Cauchon, Lemieux, Drummond, and Cartier, as men who had fallen several degrees from grace, by not carrying on and extending the Separate School System at all hazards. The Bishop will hear of no compromises—will accept from Ministers no such plea as that, to carry out an open and above-board ultra Roman Catholic policy, to its fullest extent, in the midst of a Protestant country, would certainly subject them to the loss of place and power. No! They must be taught to "reverence the Bishop," as the first maxim of their Churchmanship, and to carry out his behests, not daring to stray into any devious ways of their own devising, which they may presume to think better suited to the temper of the times.

(From the *Weekly Globe*, 11th July, 1856.)

3. "BISHOP CHARBONNEL AND HIS FRIENDS.—The delightful family quarrel between Bishop Charbonnel and his friends in the Ministry goes on apace. Count Mary is not the man for half measures. He stumped Kent against Mr. George Brown in 1851, he fulminated against Mr. Ferguson in 1855, and now he is pitching into Messrs. Cauchon, Lemieux, Drummond, and Cartier, with a total disregard of the state of the thermometer. His mode of attack in all these cases was the same; his representative denounced Ministers from the pulpit of St. Michael's Cathedral last Sunday in terms not unlike those used by Priest Jeffers in the Kent election—but there is a different object of view. The Bishop had no hope of making a convert of Mr. Brown, his sole effort was to embarrass and to defeat him; but he has hopes, nay, he has a certainty, that if he plies the rod hard enough he will drive Messrs. Cauchon & Co. into doing all that he desires of them. We must say that the reverend gentleman has some sympathy from

us in his work. * * * There is no doubt as to the principles upon which Cauchon & Co. were elected. Cauchon himself gained great popularity in Lower Canada as a defender of the Church; he opposed Mr. Morin's Government because that gentleman had gone the moderate length of Mr. Hincks' liberalism; he denounced western reformers as infidels and socialists, and decried every one who dared to have anything to do with them. Mr. Drummond, Mr. Cartier, and Mr. Lemieux, though not so warm in their ultramontaniam as Mr. Cauchon, were quite as fully committed to the schemes of the Church as the Editor of the *Journal de Québec*. There can be no doubt that every one of them was pledged, as solemnly as men could be, to carry out the views of Bishop Charbonnel in relation to Separate Schools in Upper Canada. * * * The conduct of the Bishop to those who have been the political leaders of his people is eminently characteristic of the Church to which he belongs. * * * The Bishop is the representative of God's Viceregent upon earth, he holds the scale of eternal life or death in his hands. That is the Romish doctrine, and Dr. Charbonnel is evidently the man to use all his authority. If any one should dare to oppose his decrees, not only the culprit himself, but his innocent family, will undergo the ban of excommunication—"which opens Hell and closes Heaven." Monstrous doctrine!—yet it is that of the rulers of Canada at this moment. We are bound hand and foot to men who acknowledge this faith, who cringe to a frail, fallible mortal as if he were a God. The Government dares not disobey the orders of the Bishop, and until we have a thorough expression of the feelings of Upper Canada, we are tied fast to the chariot-wheels of Rome.

(From the *Globe*, 19th July, 1856.)

4. "BISHOP CHARBONNEL AGAIN IN PRINT—We find in the *Mirror* of last week a long correspondence* on the subject of Separate Schools, which is calculated to create a sensation in all political circles. The correspondence extends over a period of five years, from 1851 to 1856, [and took place between the Roman Catholic Bishop and various members of the Government.] Our readers know already the falsehood of the pretence that Roman Catholics desire the same in Upper Canada as Protestants receive in Lower Canada. In Lower Canada the Protestants are generally rich, and the mass of the Roman Catholics poor; the latter have, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary, have every reason to desire that monies

should be divided between the common and separate schools according to population, because they thereby receive a large amount of Protestant money, for their own priest taught schools. In Upper Canada the dissentient Roman Catholics are poor, yet they demand from the school fund, contributed by wealthy Protestants, an allowance in proportion to their population. By the application in this rule they rob the Protestants both in Upper and Lower Canada. * * * Some trouble arose about the interpretation of the Act, which turned out to be less favorable to the Roman Catholics than they expected. The Superintendent, Dr. Ryerson, decided against them in a disputed case which arose in Toronto, and they immediately appealed to the Government on the subject.

Letter of Mr. Hincks to Bishop DeCharbonnel.

QUEBEC, August 27, 1853.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—I am of course most anxious, if possible, that the matter should be satisfactorily adjusted by the Educational Department, and I therefore trust that you will cause a complaint to be made to Dr. Ryerson, who will immediately cause the grievance to be redressed.

F. HINCKS."

How ready Mr. Hincks was to force Dr. Ryerson into interpreting the laws against his convictions. [This, like other of Mr. Brown's statements, is utterly untrue.] He did not succeed, however; *the man who is now denounced as an enemy to Protestantism stood up manfully*, and Dr. Charbonnel then sought a fresh amendment of the Act.

5. This correspondence reveals to us in the clearest manner the secrets of the prison house in which Upper Canadian members of the cabinet have remained bound during the last six years. We have seen members of Parliament go to their legislative duties imbued with correct opinions, and promising to carry out the views of their constituents; we have seen them take office, and suddenly and mysteriously they have become directly the opposite as politicians to that which they were before. [What an admirable key to the secret of the Brown-McGee alliance!] We have known that the influence which effected the change was that of the Roman Catholic church, but the exact mode in which it was brought to bear, though manifest to a few, was never thoroughly exposed to the popular gaze. [Perhaps Mr. Brown could do so now!] Bishop Charbonnel has done that good work. We see that it was no indirect method which the Roman Catholic clergy employed in the business. They went

* This correspondence is again re-printed in the *Globe* of the 24th November, 1857.

straight to the mark, and threatened the withdrawal of support if their demands were not complied with. The greedy men in office could not withstand these menaces; they yielded, and to save their salaries consented to abandon the principles of their lives, and the good wishes of their constituents and fellow-citizens. The Bishop goes over the whole scene of corruption. The demand and the resistance, the threat of punishment and the final yielding. He who runs may read. Let not any one venture to say that we are not priest-ridden after such a record as this. How long is this system to continue? Where is it to end? Bishop Charbonnel acknowledges himself foiled in the meantime; he has not gained his end yet. But if Protestant Upper Canadians are to truckle to Romanists as they have done hitherto, what will prevent him succeeding? The French Canadian party in power cannot do without the priests; Mr. Cauchon was built up by them, and they can unmake him.

(From the Globe, 28th July, 1856-)

6. "MORE ROMAN CATHOLIC EMIGRATION.—Mr. Cauchon is bent on improving his brief tenure of office to the utmost of his power, in the way of filling up the lands of the Crown with faithful subjects of the Pope.—His scheme for settling the Hastings tract with Irish Roman Catholics has for some time been before the public, and now a new plan is broached in his organ, the *Journal de Québec*, for bringing in Belgian and German Roman Catholics to settle the Crown Lands in Lower Canada.

We desire that Canada should be open to all comers, and have experience that Germans of the right sort are a valuable class as settlers, but these persistent attempts of Mr. Cauchon, ever since he entered the Crown Lands Office, to encourage the introduction of exclusively Roman Catholic Colonies, must be stopped, or Canada will soon become as much a tributary of Rome as Tuscany or Naples. Is it the desire of Upper Canada that we should be overwhelmed with Walloons or Roman Catholic Germans from the Rhine—that we shall absolutely pay for being so overwhelmed? If not let them immediately petition the Governor that we may get rid for ever of Cauchon and his infamous schemes.

(From the Globe, 26th August, 1856.)

7. "SEPARATE SCHOOLS.—Clearly there is no medium course between a common system of State education completely secular, and one on which every sect should have separately endowed academies of its own.

Surely every other sect has as good a right to be provided for in this way with the same distinctness as the Roman Catholics.* Why should not the Church or England have its own *curriculum*, with the orthodox catechism a *sine qua non* for admission? If the Roman Catholic is to teach "separately," at the State's expense, the divinity of the Virgin, why should not the Unitarian have the same privilege with regard to the humanity of Christ? And so on with all the rest, and then we should like to know, where it is to end? What is to prevent some distinguished disciple of Joe Smith by-and-by from demanding a "separate" grant for the diffusion of Mormonism? But the truth is that, since all connection between Sectarianism and the State has been abolished in the pulpit, to continue it in the academy is utterly ridiculous and inconsistent. Let us have one uniform comprehensive *secular* system of common schools open to all and fitted for all. Let those who like them not abstain from doing so, as they please. To speak of "conscientiousness" beyond this must lead to all sorts of absurd conclusions. As for religious instruction, it is no more than the duty of the clergy of all denominations to superintend its diffusion amongst their respective flocks.

(From the Globe, 23rd October, 1856.)

8. "THE SAUGEEN ELECTION—WHO VOTES?—Who will not spend one or two days, and the small amount of trouble and expense it will involve, to cast his vote *against* the road-jobber (Mr. Beaty) and the office-hunting Ministerial lawyer (Mr. Patton), and *for* the independent merchant (Mr. McMurrich)—the honest champion of liberal principles and Upper Canadian interests! * * * The screw must be turned a little tighter; jobbing and chiselling must have another chance; the taxes must go up 25 per cent. higher; the priests of Romé must cover the country with their monasteries; Catholic institutes and Catholic schools must be maintained by the public revenues; they must be allowed to *establish* their system upon us by law, firmly and irrevocably, and *then* those who are now indifferent will probably wake up to the dangers that surround them, and struggle for deliverance. We hope it may not be too late; but political evils can be averted much easier than they can be removed, when once fairly on our backs.

(From the Globe, 27th October, 1856.)

9. "THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ISSUE.—In Upper Canada there are not "upwards of 300,000 Roman Catholics;" at last census there were

* See the late Hon. Mr. Baldwin on such silly reasoning, page 74.

but 167,695 Roman Catholics. [Then the McGee army must have sadly dwindled away, or he must have reckoned without his host!] It is not "we" who assume "a hostile attitude towards a mass so immense," but they towards us; and by the wretched subservience of the *Leader* and its masters, they rule the Province. "The issue that Mr. Brown would now force upon us," we can well conceive to be one of "most terrible import" to the *Leader* and all its myrmidons—for the day it is determined will be fatal to the whole tribe of politicians who live by pandering to Roman Catholicism. To no other class of Upper Canadians could the entire success of Mr. Brown's demands be in the slightest degree alarming. He asks but Representation by Population, Non-sectarian National Education, the discontinuance of all State subsidies for ecclesiastical purposes, economy in the public expenditure, and a gradual assimilation of legislation for both sections of the Province. [This was the Brown buncombe style of writing before the famous alliance, and before the "checks," "assurances," and "guarantees" were given by Mr. Brown that he would do nothing of the kind.]

(From the *Globe*, 27th November, 1856.)

8. "RELIGION AND POLITICS.—It is very true that, in prosecuting the reform of abuses, we have come into contact very frequently with the Romish hierarchy. We defy any body of Reformers to carry out their well-known principles and steer clear of that Church. They will meet it at every turn, interfering in all important matters, and influencing when it cannot control. The favored Church of one section of the Province, holding large grants of public lands, and collecting tithes under the authority of the State, she has the most urgent reasons for interfering in politics, and, unfortunately, possesses but too much power in the control which she exercises over the consciences of her adherents. Not content with her exclusive rights in Lower Canada, she seeks to place Upper Canada also under her dominion. Her Bishops order the Ministers of the Crown to grant them exclusive privileges in educational matters, and, though sorely unwilling, they obey. And because we oppose this power, great as it is, and wielded with a total disregard of popular rights, we are told that we are "abandoning the reform of abuses, to agitate sectarian questions!" We have opposed the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, when they demanded exclusive privileges, and are we to be called sectarians because we also oppose the Church of Rome, the most grasping and tyrannical of Churches, the ally of despotism

in every country in which it has a foothold? Ask the liberals of the continent of Europe what power they dread most, and they will tell you that it is neither King nor Kaiser, but the Pope and his priesthood. What they oppose there, we oppose here, because we find the Church of Rome to be the same in America as it is in Europe—the enemy of education and of liberty. If we were to accept the *Ligue* as the exponent of the views of the liberals of Lower Canada, we should conclude that we were not to have their aid in working out liberal views in opposition to the Churchmen; but we do not accept our contemporary as such. We know too well the views of Lower Canadians to think that they can now be priest-led as of yore. They may for a moment be blinded by motives of expediency, or daunted by the difficulties of their course, but their course, though slow, will undoubtedly be onward. Whatever may be the views of Lower Canadians, however, there can be no stop in the movements of Upper Canadian Reformers.

(From the *Globe*, 10th December, 1856.)

9. "OUR 'FANATICISM.'—The policy of the Roman Catholic Church in this country is to "separate" its followers from the rest of the community, in the school, in the legislature, and even in their territorial habitation. We are told that the agitation of politico-religious questions is chargeable exclusively to the *Globe*; that our "fanaticism," and not any substantial grievance of which we can justly complain, is at the bottom of all the opposition we have lately directed against the Church of Rome. But what is the fact? Will our opponents, even our non-catholic opponents, listen to the interested clamour raised against us; and shut their eyes to the daily proofs that the offence of mixing sectarianism with politics lies at the door of the Romish party, and not at ours. We have repeatedly denied the charge, and given abundant proof that our opponents are the aggressors. But none are so blind as those who will not see. Journalists and politicians who expect to attain the objects of their ambition through the aid of a particular sect, need not be expected to discover any faults in the priestly rulers of that sect, nor any thing objectionable in their demand for exclusive privileges and special favours from government. [As has just been exemplified in the Brown-McGee triumph in North Wellington!] * * * We do not deny, because all history proves, that, if it be dangerous to the peace and blighting to the prosperity of a country, to build up the power of a priesthood by Legislative favours and public grants, it is especially dangerous and fearfully blighting to do so in the case

of Rome. The reasons in support of the doctrine that there should be no connection between Church and State are greatly intensified when that particular system is in question. In Lower Canada there is a direct connection between the Church of Rome and the State. The political power of its priesthood, and their determination to use that power whenever the interests of the body can be promoted by it, are facts that can neither be ignored, nor explained away. The same denominational power is seen and felt in every election in Upper Canada. It has become an element of potent influence in every political movement. *The most unsophisticated politician knows that the Roman Catholic vote is, as nearly as possible, a unit, and that if he would secure it, there is but one way open to him. He must pay the price; he must sign the bond; he must agree to give Rome what she demands, or he must do without Rome's vote.* [Mr. Brown having obtained the Catholic vote in Toronto and North Wellington, has of course paid the price and signed the bond.]

Does it lie in the mouth of such a power as this, to object to the mention of religion in the political arena? Are we to be told by its toadies, its servile apologists of the press, that we are "fanning the flames of religious discord," because we raise our voice against it, and put forth our hand to resist its encroachments? Let the Roman Catholics content themselves with the same protection, the same rights, the same privileges that are guaranteed to the rest of the community,—let them cease to appear in the Council Chamber or the Legislature as a sect; let them not ask to be recognised by a religious ear-mark, and they will have no occasion to complain against us for "fanning the flames of religious discord." Roman Catholicism, as a religious system, must submit to investigation, must endure the friction of public discussion, and the weight of adverse opinion, in common with all other systems that appeal to the reason and judgment of mankind. But when it comes into the political arena, and attempts to bend the power of Government to its purpose, it must be prepared to encounter the determined resistance of every enlightened citizen, of every lover of freedom, of every friend of civil liberty, and religious equality.

(From the *Globe*, 19th December, 1856.)

10. "A CONSERVATIVE PARTY.—The attempt to form a strong "Conservative" party in Upper Canada, without principles—unless the shadowy and intangible ideas suggested by the name itself may pass for principles—will be found a much more

difficult operation than the *Colonist* seems to imagine. * * * One fact, at which we barely hinted yesterday, will show our readers that Upper Canada has nothing to hope for from a resuscitated Conservative party. The would-be organs of this coming party, give, without exception, an uncertain sound upon the sectarian questions. They are either *mum*, or loosely Protestant, whenever the assumptions and demands of Rome are in question. The *Colonist* and his friends well know that in the triangular contest they are endeavouring to inaugurate, the Catholic vote will be, in many cases, a controlling element. Their policy is, therefore, to court, not to offend Rome. But the Priests have learned wisdom from experience as well as their neighbours. Fair words and loose promises will no longer satisfy them. The agreement must be explicit and it must be stated in the *bond*. [Mr. Brown has therefore executed the *bond*, having obtained the vote of the Priest party in Toronto and elsewhere.] The Conservatives, therefore, who expect to win with the help of the Catholic vote, must bind themselves, hand and foot, to the Catholic cause. We ask those who doubt on the point, to consult the organs of that yet inanimate party, from the *Colonist* down to the—what name shall we write?—the penny-whistle that echoes its notes, and see how carefully the way is kept clear for the inevitable compromise. Not a word is said that could decently be avoided, to commit the party to anything hostile to the interests of Rome. The "fanatics" are sneered at and the "religious" party condemned, obviously to curry favour with the Priests. Is it to such politicians that Upper Canada will commit the defence of its national school system? Will any one look to them for a vigorous opposition to priestly demands of whatever kind? Need we expect the allies of Romanism to stand up boldly for the rights of Upper Canada in any case? No, emphatically no, is the answer, and the only answer to all such questions. What better, may we ask, would the country be in the hands of such a coalition than in those of the present? We verily believe it would be worse. Puseyism, aristocratic-puppyism, overweening conceit, and small statesmanship, allied to Popery, conscious of its power, and determined to make use of the opportunity to drive the nail to its head, would settle the school question and all other questions in which the Priests are concerned, and leave Canada prostrate at the feet of Rome, it might be for ages to come.

(From the *Globe*, 16th January, 1857.)

11. DR. RYERSON AND MR. BRUTERE.—We publish to-day two letters from Dr.

Ryerson on the controversy raised by Priest Bruyere, in regard to the disposal of the Clergy Reserve Fund by the Municipalities. We would gladly print Bruyere's letter, also, but it is long, loose, and loud, containing very little argument, but a great deal of abusive verbiage. Dr. Ryerson states the views of his opponent fairly, however; and the chief value of the Superintendent's letters does not lie in their exposure of poor Bruyere—though that is complete—but in the general exposition of the questions at issue. Dr. Ryerson has treated the matter so fully, that there is only one point which it is necessary for us to notice. Priest Bruyere, in his first letter, assailed Dr. Ryerson for recommending that the Reserve money should be applied to township libraries, because, said he, those libraries are Protestant, and cannot be used by Catholics. If this had been true—if Protestant books were selected for the libraries, and those written by Roman Catholics excluded—Priest Bruyere would have had some reason for objecting, not only to the Reserve monies, but to any other public funds being appropriated to the libraries. Dr. Ryerson met the objection at once; he asserted that the books in his catalogue had been chosen with a constant reference to the differences between Protestant and Romanist, and that in this, as in other matters, his educational system was free from the taint of sectarianism.

* * * * *

Driven step by step from his allegations that Roman Catholic books are excluded from the public libraries, Priest Bruyere has but little to say in support of his first position. He alleges that in the catalogue, Lingard's History is explained to be the work of a priest. Well, is it not right that the Superintendent should let the township authorities know who is the author, and what is the character of an expensive work, and has he not afforded the same kind of information about books written by Protestants? After giving the information, he leaves the local authorities to judge for themselves. The last allegation of the priest is that the number of works by Roman Catholics in the catalogue are few compared with those written by Protestants. Very true, and for the best of all reasons. Roman Catholics have contributed but little to English literature. Dr. Ryerson cannot supply the libraries of Canada with what has not an existence.

(From the Globe, 17th January, 1857.)

12. THE REFORM ALLIANCE.—**So much has the public mind been excited by the questions between Upper and Lower Canada, and between the Romish hierarchy and

the liberal sentiment of the country, that it would be vain to attempt to rouse attention on other subjects, however important. * * * [In the following passage, Mr. Brown boasts himself to be the author of the agitation on the separate school question:—] When Mr. Brown made his first motion in the House of Assembly on Sectarian Schools, who would have imagined that his principle would be adopted within four years by the almost unanimous voice of Upper Canada, that even the opposition of the Roman Catholic press would die away, and that Catholics themselves would declare against the sectarian system. This is the triumph of truth, brought about by the influence of reason alone. One would think from the attitude of the press at this moment that the ALLIANCE had nothing to do; that everything would be granted at the first demand. Representation by Population, the Abolition of Sectarian Grants, and every thing else which connects the church with the State, and the uprooting of Sectarian Schools, are not matters to be yielded by the priest party without a struggle.

(From the Globe, 24th November, 1857.)

13. THE ACTS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT ON THE SEPARATE SCHOOL QUESTION.—THEIR SUBSERVENCY TO THE PRIESTS!—BISHOP CHARBONNEL ISSUES HIS COMMANDS AND THEY OBEY!—The readers of this journal have been very fully informed of the events of the last four years connected with the Sectarian School question as they transpired; but, at this time, when the ministry are about to appeal to the country, it is necessary that we should recall these events in order that the people may have an opportunity of deciding on the merits of the actors. In June 1851, at a Council of Roman Catholic bishops, held at Quebec, it was determined that "mixed schools are altogether dangerous to faith and innocence, fountains of poisonous doctrines, sources of the plague called indifferentism, and that priests and bishops were bound to turn away, with all possible energy, from such schools, parents and children, and leave nothing undone in order to obtain the enjoyment of the unquestionable right of separate schools throughout the whole province."—We quote the language of Bishop Charbonnel. This step was taken without any demand having been made for it by the laity, who were perfectly content with the unsectarian schools, and desired no better education for their children than they received in them. Immediately afterwards, the Bishops began their crusade thus promulgated—Bishop Charbonnel, of Toronto, being the leader of the movement. Their ultimate

motive was, undoubtedly, the destruction of the whole school system, but the entering wedge was their demand for increased privileges for their church, under the sectarian clause. [The *Globe* here reprints from its issue of the 19th July, 1856, the correspondence referred to.]

The correspondence with the Hincks Government closes here. [Sept. 1854.] At the end, the Premier does not appear to be half as well convinced of the justice of the Bishop's claims as he had been during the previous year.

* * * * *

Letter of Bishop Phelan to Hon. Attorney General Macdonald.

"KINGSTON, 11th April, 1855.

"HON. SIR.—Although you informed me in your last letter that it is, and always was, your object to enable the Catholics of Upper Canada to educate their youth in their own way, it does not appear however, at present, that you intend making, at this session, any of the amendments in the present School Act which you required me to communicate in writing to you. If this be the case, what was the use of asking me for my views on the subject of the separate schools? I am aware of your difficulties on this point—the Chief Superintendent of Schools of Canada West especially being opposed to any measure that would be favorable to our separate schools, and consequently determined to prevent, if possible, the amendment we require. But I trust neither you nor the ministry will be prevented from doing us justice by your allowing us the same rights and privileges for our separate schools as are granted to the Protestants of Lower Canada. If this be done at the present session we will have no reason to complain, and the odium thrown upon you for being controlled by Dr. Ryerson will be effectually removed.—If, on the contrary, the voice of our opponent upon the subject of separate schools, is more attended to and respected than the voice of the Catholic bishops, the clergy, and nearly 200,000 of Her Majesty's loyal Catholic subjects, claiming justice for the education of their youth—surely the Ministry that refuses us such rights cannot blame us for being displeased with them, and consequently for being determined to use every constitutional means in our power to prevent their future return to Parliament. This, of course, will be the disagreeable alternative to which we shall be obliged to have recourse if full justice be not done us at this Session with regard to our Separate schools.

"I have the honor to be, hon. Sir, your most obedient servant,

† PATRICK, Bishop of Oathco,
Administrator Apostolic of
Diocese of Kingston."

There could be no plainer threat than this. The Bishops cracked their whip over Mr. Macdonald's back like Southern overseers over their slaves; and they met the same

obedience. No crouching negro in the cotton field ever bent more abjectly before his taskmaster than the Attorney General and his colleagues before the Roman Catholic Bishops of Upper Canada. They knew that their constituents were opposed to the demands of the Bishops, and they felt it to be right to resist those demands. What was their duty when the letter of the Bishop was, under such circumstances, presented to them? Was it not to throw the threat in their teeth, to tell them to do their worst, and that the Cabinet would do their duty to their constituents? Did Mr. Macdonald do this?—No, Colonel Taché introduced the bill into the Upper House, and Mr. Macdonald moved it in the Assembly, in the shape which the Bishop demanded, in a shape which would have forever destroyed the school system of Upper Canada. They yielded to these Romish priests; they gave to three foreign ecclesiastics entire sway over the most important public institution in Upper Canada. . . . This letter [from Bishop Phelan to Bishop Charbonnel] closes the correspondence of the Bishops in relation to the events of 1855.—The whole presents a fearful picture of the state of vassalage to the Romish hierarchy in which we are placed. Three Roman Catholic Bishops, all foreigners, one of them a Frenchman only three years in the country, present themselves, at the bidding probably of the chiefs of the Propaganda at Rome, to Her Majesty's Ministers, and demand the subversion of the most important public institution in Upper Canada. The Province, in whose affairs they thus presumptuously interfere, is four-fifths Protestant in its population, and the change which the priests demand is repugnant not only to that large proportion of the people, but even to the Roman Catholic faith.

(From the *Globe*, 1st December, 1857.)

14. THE GAME TO BE PLAYED.—"The game the coalition intend to play is now fully developed. It is to be *ultra-Romunist in Lower Canada*. All its members from that section are devoted servants of the hierarchy. The champion of Corrigan's murderers was forced by their influence into the Government, as Chief Commissioner of Public Works,—the most influential office, as respects Lower Canada, in the whole Cabinet. In Upper Canada the Coalition is either Orange or Green, according to the line of the spectator. In a Catholic township or neighbourhood, it is ready to concede Separate Schools, and every other "right" the Priests demand. In an Orange locality, it boasts that a majority of its western members are Orangemen, that its patronage is given liberally to Orangemen, and at the

same time it privately assures them that it yields to the Priests very reluctantly, and no more than it can help."—"Its Protestantism is seen in its efforts to propitiate Rome by enormous grants to her institutions, taken chiefly from the taxes levied upon the Protestants of Upper Canada, in throwing all the power and patronage of the government, in Lower Canada, into the hands of the Romanists of the ultra School, and ignoring the political rights, and even the existence of the Protestants of that section of the Province."

(From the *Globe*, December 4, 1857.)

15. "TORONTO CITY ELECTION.—In another part of this morning's paper will be found an address to Mr. George Brown, inviting him to stand as a candidate for the city.—The most remarkable feature of this address is, that it bears the signature of the Grand Secretary, and several hundreds of the most respectable and influential members of the Orange Association. We confess that to us this is a most gratifying fact. For many years we have contended that the Opposition in Parliament must, sooner or later, be supported by all men who honestly hold the principles of the Orange Association. We have watched the changes gradually passing over the public mind, and we cannot regard this *Toronto* movement otherwise than as the fulfilment of a large instalment of our expectations. Already are the best portion of the Orangemen throughout the country with the Opposition in the contest going on, and we are persuaded that the event we are to-day recording, will give a new impulse to the movement elsewhere. The question now is the trial of the Ministry for their misdeeds of the past three years. The question is, the present Government and their supporters have sold their party, their principles, and their country, to the Romish Priests, for the base consideration of obtaining office. It is that they have attempted to destroy our noble School System, at the bidding of the Romish Hierarchy." "The Protestant feeling of the country is thoroughly roused, and no machinations of the tools of the Ministry can roll back the swelling tide."

(From the *Globe*, December 7, 1857.)

16. "THE CITY ELECTIONS.—The point in dispute is, not whether Tory or Radical shall rule, but whether Upper Canada shall have her rights, whether her schools shall be kept free from Priestly interference, whether Protestant or Popish ideas shall triumph in this Province."—"It will be a complete battle between Protestant and Catholic, and

we need hardly say which will win, even in a place like Toronto."—"The great Protestant heart of Upper Canada is roused, and no where so much so as in Toronto, and it will sweep everything before it. All past dissensions are forgotten; all personal feelings laid aside; and there is the most hearty and devoted unanimity in carrying out the great policy of justice to Upper Canada, and opposition to Priestly domination."

(From the same.)

17. "THE ORANGE SOCIETY AND THE GOVERNMENT.—The fact is undoubted, we believe, that the members of the present Ministry have refused to support, or permit the introduction of a Bill to incorporate the Orange Association. We do not know in what way, or by whom, the proposition was laid before them; but the fact is undoubted, that the Bill, through the influence of the Government, has not been introduced, though frequently demanded by the people. There can be but one explanation of this phenomenon. The Orange Society is as well entitled to an Act of Incorporation as the Odd Fellows and Freemasons, the Bible, or Tract, or French Mission Societies; and certainly, as well as the hundred varieties of Monks and Nuns who have had so many charters granted within the last four years. We do not know any good reason why the Orangemen should be refused, when all others enjoy the privilege of suing and being sued in their corporate capacity. We know the reason why the Government would not grant it, however. It is because the Papists would not let them. THEY DARED NOT INCUR THE WRATH OF D'ARCY MCGEE, and the Catholic Citizen, the Ottawa Tribune, and such journals. They dared not do justice in the premises."—"It is no wonder that Orangemen should oppose such a government; the only wonder is that they should have supported it so long."

From the *Globe*, Dec. 8, 1857.

18. "CITY ELECTION.—We can tell the Leader and the Government that the

* It is marvellous indeed, that the man who thus laboured to excite the Protestant and Orange feeling of the country to its highest pitch, in 1857, who advocated the incorporation of the Orange Association, who owed his election to Orange votes, should ally himself, within six months after, to that very D'Arcy McGee, whose declared object is not only to prevent the incorporation of the Orange Association, but to exclude all Orangemen from office, to crush them in the dust! It is equally marvellous to see Mr. Thibaudeau (Mr. Brown's Minister of Agriculture) declare, as he does in a recent speech, (quoted in a note on page 89 of the preceding letters,) that Mr. Brown, and his party, were the "Natural Allies" of the Roman Catholics, and that the *Globe* was no longer hostile to them. Infidelity and the blackest priestcraft cannot do a worse thing to the people of a

Orangemen, at whom the Organist's remarks are pointed particularly, are not false friends. When they take up a candidate, they go with him to the death. They are not treacherous like Mr. Bowes' allies, bearing a fair face and a concealed dagger. They have called out Mr. Brown, and they mean to stick to him."—"What an opinion do the Government entertain of the Orangemen of Toronto! That body brings out a man, who, we may say without presumption, is a leader among the people, one who has done good service to the Protestant cause in Parliament and in the press."

(From the same.)

19. "THE ISSUE PRESENTED.—The Toronto correspondent of the *Montreal New Era*, D'Arcy McGee's paper, has the following:

'Mr. Bowes' return, however, may be considered certain, as he will unanimously receive the Catholic vote, which is the largest vote of any body in the city.'

"Here is the issue presented to the people of Toronto! Mr. Bowes gets the Roman Catholic votes, and they will elect him! Protestants of Toronto, will you stand idly by and see this done?" WILL YOU BE RULED BY THE PETTICOATED GENTLEMEN ON CHURCH STREET, or will you not unite on two men, who can beat Mr. Bowes, and put them in?"

[NOTE.—Who could have supposed that at the present time, not only has Mr. Brown sold the Orangemen and Protestants who elected him in 1857, but that he is now the ally of those very "petticoated gentlemen of Church Street," and that very "D'Arcy McGee," in the municipal as well as political elections in Toronto as also in North Wellington and elsewhere!]

(From the *Globe*, Dec. 15, 1857.)

20. "It is for the Protestants of Toronto to say whether they will stand by and permit the Roman Catholics to rule the city. *Divide et impera* has long been the motto of Rome in every Protestant country, and never was it attempted to be applied more palpably than in this contest." "Why is it that this violent hostility is shown by the Romanists towards Mr. Brown? Simply because he is true to his principles, and cannot be turned from them by any temptations whatever. And will the Protestant electors permit him to be sacrificed by the machinations of the Romanists for such a cause as

country, than trade with their religious feelings and educational interests for bare political and party purposes.

this?"—"The large body of Orangemen who brought out Mr. Brown are true to him as steel; and every day has brought over members of the Association who at first were in doubt."—"In this contest, the life and vivacity has been on the side of Mr. Brown, and it will so continue until the end. He rests on his principles, on his services to the Protestant cause, things which move the masses."

(From the *Globe*, Dec. 22, 1857.)

21. "ORANGEMEN, DON'T SURRENDER! —We are glad to see, that in spite of the efforts of some of their officials who have sold themselves to the Ministry, a large number of the Orangemen of Upper Canada stand firmly by their Protestant principles in the present contest with the minions of the Pope. In this city they have done well, and will yet do better. In several of the country constituencies the more intelligent of the body, have given their support boldly and honorably to the Opposition."—"In North Wellington the Ministerialists have resorted to the most desperate expedients to inveigle the Orangemen in the service of the Pope."—"Let the Orangemen in every constituency read the sound advice of their Grand Secretary and be guided by it."

[Then follows a letter of enquiry from Mr. John Watson, "Master of Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 846, Elora," to which the Grand Secretary replies as follows:]

TORONTO, Dec. 16, 1857.

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—I am duly in receipt of yours of the 12th instant. In reply, I beg to say that, if I were satisfied that the promise of a candidate for parliamentary honours were worth anything, I would vote for the man who would sweep away the sectarian clause in our School Act. That sectarian clause is but the small end of a wedge to split up our Common School system. The Priests, through their tools in Parliament, will keep hammering at the wedge until they have accomplished their purpose. I earnestly hope the Brethren in North Wellington will exercise a good judgment in returning to Parliament a sound, unflinching, and uncompromising Protestant—a man who, without fear or regard for favor, will be steady to his purpose, and maintain his principles.

"I am, dear sir and Brother,
Yours, fraternally,

(Signed) JOHN HOLLAND,

"Grand Secretary to the Right Worshipful the Grand Lodge of British North America."

(From the *Globe*, December 25, 1857.)

22. Never had Mr. Brown, or any other candidate, in any election campaign, truer or more devoted friends than the *Orangemen* who supported him in Toronto. Their promptitude—their disinterestedness—their unhesitating zeal—we are sure he never can forget. He it was, and not Mr. Boulton, who was the real Orange candidate for the city, and well do the *Mirror* and *Citizen* know that his return was the greatest triumph which the principles of Orangeism could possibly obtain. This election shows that there is in the City of Toronto a clear majority who are opposed to the present Government, and heartily in favor of the *Upper Canada* policy, which Mr. Brown has steadily pursued. The traditional hold which Toryism has obtained over the constituency, has been lost since Toryism has connected itself with Romanism and Lower Canadianism.”

* Note.—In this extract Mr. Brown declares himself to have been the real Orange candidate for Toronto, and that his election was the greatest triumph which the principles of Orangeism could possibly obtain. In the next preceding extract, Mr. Brown appeals, and urges the appeal of the Grand Orange Secretary, to the *Electors of North Wellington*, in favor of electing “a sound, unflinching, uncompromising Protestant.” Well, another election was held, a few days since, in the same County of North Wellington, and another address was sent from Toronto to the Electors, but not from the Grand Orange Secretary, but from Mr. Brown’s new Roman Catholic allies in this city, said to be written by Mr. D’Arcy McGee, whose “liberality of sentiment” Mr. Brown recommends to the Protestants of Upper Canada, in the *Globe* of the 16th December, as quoted on page 47 of the preceding letters. In this new McGee-Brown alliance “Address to the Catholics of North Wellington,” we have the following words:

“We have no confidence in George E. Cartier, who feared to practise the time-honored Faith of our fathers, when lately in England.” [Mr. Cartier attended Church of England service with Her Majesty one Sunday while her guest at Windsor Palace.] “We have no confidence in George E. Cartier, who was guilty of the paltry act of voting against us, and in favor of two Ministerial Orangemen, at the late Municipal Elections in this city.” [The candidates for whom Mr. Cartier voted were neither of them Orangemen.] “We have no confidence in George E. Cartier, who first approved, and then “burked” our School Bill, [Mr. Bowes’ Bill of 1856,] who was visited with ecclesiastical censure: and

who has never sought to be in the Church, since he broke faith with the Bishops. Judging by the past, no confidence can be placed in a man who has avowed ORANGEMEN among its ranks—that has held up place, power, and a large salary, as a bait for ORANGE support; that has screened from legal penalties ORANGEMEN, Orange Vandals, Orange assassins?”—I conjure you, therefore, fellow Catholics of North Wellington, by your love of justice, by your hatred of corrupt men and mean men, by your horror of Orange violence and bloodshed, by the memory of the long list of wrongs you have endured at the hands of your merciless and inveterate enemy, faithfully, wisely, and as one man, to perform your duty. It is in your power to deal a death blow at Orangeism in North Wellington, by strengthening the ranks of those who desire the discontinuance of all such secret organizations in this country—Up and act! Scout the recreant who may seek to lead you from the path of rectitude. He is an enemy, a hireling, or a knave. Let not money tempt you to betray your conscience, or barter your principle. Be firm and fear not. Remember the example set you by your friends in this city, and in all the late elections for both Houses and for Municipalities.”

Now these are the sentiments of the man whom Mr. Brown commends for his “liberality of sentiment;” and these are the views and objects of the parties with whom Mr. Brown has allied himself in the late municipal and political elections, including the recent one in North Wellington; one of their declared objects being the proscription of these very Orangemen whose candidate Mr. Brown was in 1857, and to whom he owed his election, and which election he declared to be the greatest triumph of the principles of Orangeism; and another of their avowed objects being the passing of that very School Bill (first introduced and afterwards abandoned by Mr. Bowes) which Dr. Ryerson showed in his School Report for 1855, to be subversive of our whole school system, and an invasion of the property and rights of Protestants, of school sections, and of municipalities.

This is the manner in which Mr. Brown now supports the school system; the manner in which he maintains the sacred principles and rights of Protestants against what he has in past years held up as the seductions and aggressions of Popery; the manner in which he shows his gratitude to the Orangemen who brought him out and elected him in this city in December, 1857, and the incorporation of whose Association

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en so lustily advocated. Such an example of barefaced inconsistency, of downright treachery to former professed principles, of shameless ingratitude to, and betrayal of former friends and supporters, can scarcely be found in the political annals of any country. Mr. Brown, in one of his attacks upon the Judges, compared them to Jeffreys; but the apostacy of Jeffreys from being the ranting enemy of Roman Priests to becoming their tool against Protestants, is a striking type of that of Mr. Brown—Mr. McGee being Chiffinch, the “broker,” in the latter transaction, and the ultra foreign priests constituting the “Court” to which the sale of service is made, and the promised reward, not being a Chief Justiceship, but a Premiership. Lord Macaulay says:—“Jeffreys had hitherto looked for professional advancement to the Corporation of London. He had, therefore, professed himself a Roundhead, and had always appeared in a higher state of exhilaration when he explained to Popish Priests that they were to be cut down alive, and were to see their own bodies burned, than when he passed ordinary sentences of death. But as soon as he got all the city could give him, he made haste to sell his forehead of brass, and his tongue of venom, to the Court; Chiffinch, who was accustomed to act as broker in infamous contracts of more than one kind, lent his aid. The renegade soon found a patron in the obdurate and revengeful James, but was regarded with scorn and disgust by Charles, whose faults, great as they were, had no affinity with insolence and cruelty. ‘That man,’ said the King, ‘has no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carted street-walkers.’” Mr. Brown having for years lashed the unsuspecting Protestants of Upper Canana into a fury against Pope and Priests, monkeries and nunneries, having put himself forth as the candidate of Orangemen, and the champion of their incorporation, and been elected by them for the very purpose of putting down “Romish priest-craft” and maintaining “our noble school system” against Papal aggression; having thus got all that Orangemen and Protestants could give him, Mr. Brown, like Jeffreys, sells his “forehead of brass and tongue of venom” to the heretofore

execrated “Priest party,” to proscrib Orangemen, to crush Orangeism, and to import a school system from Ireland!

Then, on the other hand, it is a melancholy and suggestive fact, and one to be pondered by good men of all parties in Upper Canada, that while Mr. Brown and his new allies are seeking to divide and weaken Protestants, they are organizing, by secret clubs and otherwise, the Roman Catholic Church into as complete a political association, and employing it as such, in political and municipal elections, as was ever the Orange Association itself. We will not dwell upon this new development of Upper Canadian politics—this new fact in Canadian history; we will leave it, with all its fearful significance, to the ponderings and action of every friend of the future peace, liberty, progress, and happiness of Upper Canada.

(Note from page 25, second line of the second column, omitted in its proper place.)

Mr. Brown states, that so opposed was he to the nineteenth Separate School clause, of the School Act of 1850, that he urged Mr. HINCKS to resign in consequence of it. That Act was passed in the early part of July, 1850; more than three months after the passing of which, Mr. Brown was both a supporter and defender of the Ministry who introduced that clause, as the following extract from the *Editorial* of the *Globe* of the 26th October, 1850, clearly shows:—

“We defy their opponents to point out a measure to which the Ministry stand pledged, that they have not moved upon. There are measures now on the carpet, as to which there are differences of opinion, but they have arisen since the Ministry assumed office. We fearlessly challenge the production of one pledge they have broken.”

Mr. Brown is, therefore, himself witness of the falsehood of his own intimation, that he went into opposition in consequence of the nineteenth section of the School Act, passed early in July, 1850, as the quotation thus made from his *Editorial*, of the latter part of October of that year, is the language of a thorough supporter of the Ministry of that day.

INFERENCES FROM THE FOREGOING EXTRACTS.

The foregoing extracts from the *Editorials* of the *Globe* clearly establish the following propositions :—

1. That Mr. Brown has assailed and opposed the Roman Catholic Church in past years on every possible ground, and has sought, by every means in his power, not only to rouse public feeling against Romish institutions and pretensions, but against every public man or parliamentary candidate who has received the support of Roman Catholic votes.

2. That in consequence of such apparently earnest and uncompromising hostility to the Church of Rome, Mr. Brown has acquired his chief influence with the Protestants of Upper Canada, as a champion of their rights and principles, and promoter of their interests in opposition to those of Romanism.

3. That by his recent ultra-Roman Catholic alliance,—in consequence of which he empties the *Globe* of its former Protestantism, and obtains the support of that very ultramontane section of the Roman Catholic Church which he had for years denounced, notwithstanding the avowal of the same objects as heretofore, in regard to Separate Schools and our School System, by those ultra-Romanists,—Mr. Brown has traded with the religious feelings which he had formerly excited, as well as bartered the Protestant principles he heretofore avowed; while he has ratified his ultra-papal alliance by a formal crusade against the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, though Mr. Brown had sought (as the foregoing extracts show) to identify himself with Dr. Ryerson and the School System in past years, in order the better to promote his party objects.

4. That, taking Mr. Brown's avowal of principle and purpose as recorded in the foregoing extracts from his *Editorials*, in connexion with Mr. McGee's avowals of principle and purpose, as recorded in the extracts from his speeches in the *seventh* of the preceding series of letters, the coalition between Mr. Brown and Mr. McGee, with such of their respective followers as they can lead, presents an inconsistency and abnegation of principle truly humiliating and unparalleled.

Considering, therefore, the nature of the coalition formed against the integrity of our system of public instruction, it is submitted to every candid man, of every party, whether it is not his duty to maintain inviolate that system which has increased in strength and usefulness during every year of its operations, and which has already placed Upper Canada in advance of every other Province of the British Empire, and of most of the States of the American Republic.

It is also submitted, after the exposures of the previous letters and notes, and the examples of the foregoing extracts from the *Globe Editorials*, whether the least reliance can be placed on any *statement* or *report* published in the *Globe*; whether Mr. Brown's conduct in regard to the School System and its Superintendent has not been as heartless and unpatriotic as it has been inconsistent and selfish; whether his former conduct in attending Orange *soirées*, declaring his admiration of the principle of Orangism, avowing himself the true Orange Candidate for Toronto, acknowledging his never-to-be-forgotten indebtedness to Orange electors for his success,—and then his allying himself with Mr. McGee and that party in the Roman Catholic Church who avow the exclusion of all Orangemen from public life as the first object of their crusade against Protestants and public schools,—is not as unjust and cruel as it is dishonest and unprincipled; and whether he has not shamelessly trifled with and betrayed the feelings and principles of the Protestants of Upper Canada, in exciting them in every possible way (as the foregoing extracts from his *Editorials* show) against the Roman Catholics and their Priests, denouncing every man as a betrayer and enemy of Protestantism who had the support of any Catholic votes, and now seeking and claiming success by means of the votes of those very Catholics, who denounce the Hon. Mr. Cartier for attending a Church of England service with the Queen, when he was Her Majesty's guest during a Sunday,—though Roman Catholic Members of the Legislative Council attend Church of England prayers daily,—who denounce the same Mr. Cartier for not having voted for Mr. Bowes' Separate School Bill in 1856, and for being in a Government which permits Orangemen to hold office. This new McGee-Brown alliance and crusade against the School System, and School Superintendent, and a section of the Protestants of Upper Canada, is only another example of individual infidelity among Protestants, and another phase of ultramontane aggression against knowledge, and liberty, and civilization, as subversive and destructive of all that is dear and precious to the enlightened Roman Catholic as to the enlightened Protestant.

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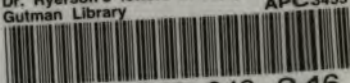
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